

ORIGINAL PAPERS

RELATIVE TO THE
DISTURBANCES

IN
B E N G A L

CONTAIN
EVERY MATERIAL TRAN^{Gover}SDITION

From 1759 to 1764

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

*Mordear opprobriis falsis mutemque colores?
Falsus honor juvat & mendax infamia terret
Quem nisi mendosum & mendacem? Vir bonus est quis?
Qui consulta patrum, qui leges juraque servat?*

HOR. Ep. I. 16.

L O N D O N:

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M DCC LXV

ORIGINAL PAPERS

RELATIVE TO THE

DISTURBANCES in BENGAL.

E 4. — *Copy of a Letter from the Governor and Council to the Chief and Council at Dacca.*

Dated 1st February 1763.

IN our letter of the 17th, we direct you to suspend paying any regard to the orders which the Nabob had sent to your factory.

We are now to acquaint, that neither the Nabob nor the President, ever understood any dilolls or weavers employed by the Company, or the English gomastahs, to be the dependants of the Sircar, you are therefore to afford them the same protection, and maintain the same authority over them as you have done formerly ; and you will continue to carry on your business as before; until you receive regulations from the Board, taking always the greatest care to prevent your Agents from injuring or oppressing the country people.

F 4. — *The same to Luckypoor.*

TH E S E orders being given, we waited for the arrival of the Members of the Board, who had been sent for from the subordinate factories,

ries, and nothing remarkable occurs till they assembled, the 15th, except a minute delivered in by Mr. Amyatt, the 3d, intended to prove, in contradiction to the President's arguments, that he had acted without authority from the Board. How far this purpose was answered, is left to others to judge from the minute itself, which follows.

Mr. Amyatt lays before the Board the following minute, in reply to that which the President delivered in last Council day.

In consequence of my having presided at the Board during the absence of Mr. Vansittart, I shall now take the liberty to reply in part to the minute which he laid before the Council on the 1st instant.

First, as the subject of the letter to the Nabob, in respect to the transactions therein contained, I shall leave it to be debated and determined at the full Board, when the rest of the Members arrive, and when I make not the least doubt, having received the assistance of their deliberations, but we shall be able to form a set of regulations equally equitable with the President's, and every way as conducive to the interest of the Country Government, and our own, and, I trust, of a much greater tendency to prevent future jealousies and animosities between us, of which the clause for subjecting us so thoroughly to their judicature, must have proved an inexhaustible source.

What I have therefore chiefly to point out is, that the President, in this transaction, has acted without a proper authority. It was but last Council day, Gentlemen, that all the proceedings in this affair were read at our Board, and although I gave the greatest attention to the perusal, I could no where distinguish that we vested the President with the power he pretends. Nay, I observe that he himself can only pick out one phrase

to answer his purpose; from perverting even the literal sense of which, and entirely the well known meaning of the Board, he draws a sanction of ours for what he has done.

Right sorry am I to find, that recourse is had to playing on words, because I think it is a custom which ought to be utterly excluded in matters so serious as generally prove the business of this Board; and orders from them, which are not explicit, should rather be scrupulously followed than taken in a vague and unlimited sense. It is needless to enlarge much more on the subject. * — on receipt of the articles from the President and Mr. Hastings, which we then understood to be only proposed, plainly demonstrate that we never gave, or intended to give them power to conclude these or any other. Of course the President's doing it was an authority assumed. But if he could so well understand, or I should rather say *mis-understand* the meaning of the Board in the above particular, and act in consequence; how happens it, I should be glad to know, that their directions and earnest recommendations for procuring restitution for the late losses of any individuals were not paid an equal regard to?

Next, with respect to the letter delivered in by Messrs. Johnstone and Hay, which I always held as a mere secondary matter, but which I find the President has expatiated upon very largely; I must in the name of the Board deny that it met from them the approbation which he alledges, their minute, of which I think the sense cannot well be perverted, serving no further than to express their opinion, that the apology of those Gentlemen was for the transaction in question to them satisfactory. Although I cannot implicitly agree

* In the copy *deest* "our letters."

with the President, that the said letter is filled with unjust and indecent reflections, yet I concur intirely that our Honourable Masters should become the judges of this as of all our other proceedings.

I remain still of opinion, that the Major ought to be present at the Board, for as I esteem sound reason and knowledge of the policy of the country to be greater requisites for executing the business in hand, than an acquaintance in the articles of the trade itself; I think his opinion and advice may be of equal weight and utility with any other member of the Board. These, added to what stands minuted on the consultations of the 17th, are my reasons for desiring the Major's presence; for I assure you, Gentlemen, I wish not more than the President, that the matter in question should become a point of contest or party.

The President answered this minute as soon as it seemed necessary, the 15th of February, as soon as the General Council had met; that is, he quoted the words of their letter of the 15th November, and his own answer of the 1st of December.

G 4. The General Council, which assembled the 15th of February, consisted of the following Members; the President, Mr. Amyatt, Mr. Batson, (Chief of Cossimbuzar) Mr. Billers, (Chief of Luckypoor) Mr. Cartier, (Chief of Dacca) Mr. Hastings, (Chief of Burdwan) Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Hay, Mr. Merriott, and Mr. Watts. Their business, or at least the first business was to settle a plan for carrying on their private trade; it must therefore appear strange, that the Council should be opened by a motion from Mr. Amyatt, that Major Carnac should be summoned to sit as a Member of this Council. It has been already mentioned, that the Major was by the Company's appointment to be a Member of the Board when military affairs only were under debate, and it is not likely

likely, either that Mr. Amyatt and the rest of the Council would have imposed upon him a trouble so foreign to his station, or that he himself would have consented to interfere, if they had not had some particular point to carry. The President dissented, as before, from this motion, and so did Mr. Hastings and Mr. Watts. The rest of the Gentlemen resolved that he should be called, and he was summoned accordingly.

As it was thus determined, that Major Carnac should sit as a Member of the Board, the President thought that the commanding Officer, Major Adams should sit also, as it was customary upon all occasions to summon both, when it was necessary to summon either.

Accordingly, the two Field Officers took their seat at the Council, which then consisted of twelve, and Mr. Amyatt began with laying before them the occasion of their meeting, in the following minute.

As the full Board are now assembled, I think it in some measure incumbent on me to inform the Members lately arrived, with the occasion of our having summoned them to the presidency.

You may remember, Gentlemen, that about six months ago, our trade in every part of the country met with great interruptions, and which from that time continued so much increasing, that in the month of October a conference with the Nabob was deemed absolutely necessary, to enquire into the cause and remove them. The President accordingly, being about to pay a visit to the Nabob at Mongheer, undertook to settle this amongst other business. To assist him in so doing, we furnished him with copies of all the complaints which had been made, and continued to transmit him copies of all others which came before the Board, with earnest recommendations to obtain satisfaction for

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the losses which those delays had occasioned, and endeavour to adjust matters so as to prevent any such from happening in future.

From these instructions, and the good disposition the President seemed to be in, we naturally hoped for the best of consequences, an interrupted freedom to our just trade, and an entire removal of the groundless jealousies and distrusts which still subsisted in a high degree on the part of the country government, and gave us just grounds to apprehend that the Nabob wanted to break with us. Had our expectations been answered, a general harmony must have reigned at our Board, and which I do assure our Gentlemen I have long wished to see.

It was therefore with much surprize that the Members of the Board, the beginning of last month, received advice from Dacca, of the Nabob's having sent a set of regulations to that factory for the government of their trade, and enjoined to them the strictest obedience, with the severest threats. Part of these regulations we had before received in a joint letter from the President and Mr. Hastings at Mongheer, but conceived them, as they expressed it, to be only a plan proposed; we wrote an answer accordingly, dated the 27th December, to which I refer you. The above letter from Dacca, however, having convinced us that the President, either from misunderstanding the orders of the Board, or too far extending their meaning, had, on the part of our Government, granted his sanction and ratification not only to these, but several other important articles, entirely without the advice of his Council; we thought it necessary to summon your presence to the Board, to consider of this matter, as well respecting the regularity of the transactions, as the purport of the regulations themselves,

selves, which in our opinion are far from having a tendency towards answering the good purposes necessary to us or wished for.

I therefore submit to your consideration the several papers relative to this business, most of which you will be directed to in our consultation of 1st instant; and I earnestly advise your assistance for bringing to a speedy determination a point so essentially necessary to the freedom of our Honourable Masters business, and all private trade.

There also lays a complaint from the Gentlemen at Patna, of the Nabob's having shut up the Burbunna Gate, and cut off the immediate communication between the city and the factory, and in which point it seems the President then on the spot also concurred, contrary to the sense of the Board last year, and which, for the honour of the factory, and influence such a concession must have on the minds of every man in the country to our prejudice, ought to have met with his strenuous opposition. This is a circumstance which must come before us in the course of our deliberations, and I only mention it here with a view to direct you to a perusal of the Patna letter, because it doth not appear in the above-mentioned consultation of the 1st instant.

The consideration of this affair will naturally lead us to compare the sense, spirit, and tendency of the treaty now in question, with those made with Surajah Dowla, and confirmed by Meer Jaffer Cawn, &c. wherein the unquestioned authority and validity of the Duffuck is so expressly established, unclog'd with any distinctions as to the goods for which it may be granted.

I have further to observe to you, Gentlemen, a circumstance on such an occasion not unworthy of your attention. The Sunnuds by which we hold

our late acquisitions, are only Tuncaws, or an assignment of these provinces, towards defraying the expences of a certain body of troops, to be kept up for the assistance of the Nabob. In the present temper of the Nabob, this so weak a title can hardly fail of proving a fresh source of dispute. He already shews a total disinclination for the use of our troops, and may, whenever he thinks himself in a condition to call our right in question, tell us that he has no longer occasion, and therefore will withdraw that revenue. To prevent such pleas on the part of the Subah, and to establish our right to these lands, as to Jagheers, by the fullest and most authentic Sunnuds, and such that, hereafter may be ever indisputable, should other European nations come to take part in the affairs of Bengal, seems a point extremely requisite to be now considered. The Company, for want of this matter being clearly explained, most probably suppose that the present Sunnuds are of the most extensive and indisputable kind, whereas in fact our force more than * title can support us in the possession of them.

I have the utmost confidence, Gentlemen, that the result of your deliberations will be such as to convince our Honourable Masters that you are incapable of being influenced by the spirit of party,

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* The nature of the grants by which the Company possess those lands is of very little moment. It is by the treaty with the Nabob they are ceded, and as long as that treaty of friendship and alliance subsists, he cannot dispute their right: if a breach of that friendship happens, and a war breaks out, he will dispossess us if he is able, and that he would, if we had the King's Firmauns. Therefore the form of the grant is of no consequence, and this will hereafter be found to be the opinion of all the Council, when they entered into a new treaty with Meer Jaffier, at which time none of them thought there was any necessity for demanding Jagheery Sunnuds.

or any mercenary motives, and that your only views are the preservation of their honour and interest, and the maintenance of their just rights and privileges.

H 4.—*Copy of the Governor's Minute of the 15th February 1763.*

IN answer to that part of Mr. Amyatt's minute of the 3d, where he says that I pervert the meaning of the letter I received from the Board, dated the 15th November, I will only quote the words of the said letter, and my answer, dated the 1st of December.

Letter from the Gentlemen of Council to the Governor.

INclosed we transmit you an extract from your Luckypoor letter, explaining the Shawbunder duties which they have always paid, and the nature of the fresh extortions which are now demanded, which we imagine may be of service to you in *finally settling these matters upon a solid plan.*

Letter from the Governor to the Gentlemen of Council.

I Shall proceed, with Mr. Hastings's assistance and concurrence, in such enquiries as shall be necessary on the subject of the complaints now in question, and in establishing such rules between the Nabob and us as may prevent them for the future. Accordingly, I framed with Mr. Hastings such rules as seemed to us most proper for the occasion, and proposed them to the Nabob in several articles,

articles, as contained in our letter to the Board of the 15th December. But the Nabob not chusing to accede to those articles, represented to me again his grievances in a letter the 26th December, the day before my departure for Patna; and as I had no further instructions from the Board than those before quoted from their letter of the 15th November, and no reply to my answer of the 1st December, where I said I would establish rules for the conduct of the Nabob's people and ours; and as the regulations proposed seemed to me altogether necessary and reasonable, I made no doubt of their being approved by the Board, and consequently made no scruple to write an answer to the Nabob, assuring him that things should be carried on according to those rules.

Upon the minute of the 1st instant, I have sufficiently shewn the reasons why those rules for carrying on the private inland trade, and restraining the power of our Gomastahs, seemed to me equitable and necessary, and the most proper for the end proposed; but as much as I am inclined to give the Officers of the Country Government their due authority, yet I am by no means disposed to submit to an abuse of that authority, or suffer them to go beyond the limits prescribed by those regulations, which, were they strictly observed by both parties, would, I think, remove all occasions of complaint from both sides. But I grant that the late conduct of the Government's Officers in many parts of the country, gives me too much reason to think with the rest of the Board, that they cannot exercise authority without oppression, and that whatever cause they might have of complaint against the English Gomastahs, their own tyrannies are yet more insupportable; for instead of freeing our trade from any impediment, detention, or obstruction under pretence of customs, dustoms, &c. which
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was my only intent in laying down such rules, they have had a quite contrary effect; the Officers of the Government presuming upon the restraints laid on our Agents and Gomastahs, having gone directly contrary to the conditions prescribed to them. I agree therefore in the necessity of entering into articles of agreement with the Nabob, such as shall appear most proper for regulating the manner of carrying on our trade in those articles, which before the troubles used to be deemed illicit, and for confining the Government's Officers, and our Gomastahs within the due bounds of their respective employments, of which articles copies should be given to every Officer of the Government, and every Gomastah, for their guidance. In the mean time, I have made the strongest representations to the Nabob, upon the violences committed by his Officers in different parts, in direct violation of the agreement between us. Copies of my letters to the Nabob, Syed Mahomet Cawn, and Mahomed Aly Beg are hereunto annexed. I lay before you likewise a number of complaints transmitted to me by Syed Mahomed Cawn from the Zilladors, and other Officers of the several districts under his immediate direction, and which it will be necessary to take under consideration at the time of debating upon the intended regulations, that such of them as appear well grounded may be remedied.

I 4. Fresh complaints from Patna and Dacca factories were read at this consultation; from the former, that some bullocks loaded with the Company's salt-petre were stopt at one of the Chockeys or Guards; and from the latter, that great obstructions were given to their trade at Serampore. On the other hand, a number of representations were received also from Syed Mahomed Cawn, the Nabob's deputy at Moorshedabad, of the violence

violence and unjust proceedings of the English Gomastahs. Upon the first it was resolved that all trade should be carried on as before, and in case any of the Government's Officers should obstruct it, they should be opposed by force and seized. Upon the second, That the representations should be translated and sent to the subordinate factories which they concerned, and from whence, for the most part, no answer was received, or, if any came, it was taken no further notice of.

As the officers of the Country Government had exercised their authority so unjustly, the President agreed it was become necessary to restrain them by force upon some occasions. The misfortune was, that those who had long wished for a rupture with the Nabob, must be the judges of those occasions, and consequently it was to be feared that they would make use of this authority beyond what was intended or necessary, particularly Mr. Ellis; however, there was no possibility of preventing it, and to have argued against it, would only have served to make them more violent, because the objections that would have been made must have been personal against some of the members then present at the board, or against Mr. Ellis, with whom they were firmly united. The President therefore thought the likeliest way of preventing any bad consequences upon this order, would be to acquaint the Nabob immediately, with the danger to which his own hastiness and the insolence of his officers had exposed him, and recommend to him in the most strenuous manner to forbid their interrupting the business of any English Gomastah, or giving further occasion for disputes, which might end in a breach of our friendship.

The following is a Copy of the Letter the President wrote the Nabob on this Occasion.

“ I have already informed you of the oppress-
“ sions and insolences of Mahomed Aly Beg, and
“ now inclose you a copy of a letter wrote by him
“ to Abdulla Aumil of Sundeeep Purgunnah. Con-
“ sider it is his design not to suffer a single English-
“ man in the country, and to punish whoever shall
“ take upon himself the name of an Englishman.
“ Accordingly, the Company’s business and that
“ of private gentlemen, has been every where
“ stopt, wherby they have been, and still are sub-
“ ject to many losses; and the agreement which
“ was made between you and me, for the removal
“ of the disputes between your dependents and
“ ours, has been entirely broken off by Mahomed
“ Aly. As his proceedings are prejudicial both
“ to your interest and the Company’s, it would
“ have been proper at the instant of my receiving
“ the copy of his letter, to have dispatched some
“ of the Company’s people to seize him, and to
“ have sent him prisoner to you. However, as he
“ is a servant of yours, I have contented myself with
“ representing the affair to you, and I wait your an-
“ swer; out of the friendship subsisting between you
“ and me, it is proper you inflict due punishment
“ on him, and make him answerable for the losses,
“ he has been the occasion of; if not, I cannot sit
“ quiet, and see the Company’s and private gen-
“ tlemen’s affairs go to ruin. Inclosed I transmit
“ you the copy of a letter I have wrote to Ma-
“ homed Aly.”

Nothing else remarkable passed at this first meet-
ing of the Council, but a letter delivered in by
Major Carnac, claiming the command, of the de-
tachment stationed at Patna. The terms of his let-

ter, are proofs sufficient, that he was the chief adviser of the resolution for calling down the members of the Board from the subordinates; and that to carry this point for himself, was one of the objects of that resolution.—The following is a copy of his letter.

Copy of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Governor and Council.

Dated 15 February 1763.

THE being deprived of the command of a body of your forces, at the head whereof I had the good fortune to meet with some success, and the being ever since detained here, you will readily believe must have occasioned much uneasiness to me; however, till now, I despaired of any remedy from a conviction that my remonstrances would prove ineffectual, and only serve to involve me in fresh altercations, which I was willing to avoid. The station of Patna being the most likely quarter from whence we are to expect troubles, is undoubtedly the post of honour, and as such, from my rank, I had the best title thereto, unless I had forfeited it by any ill behaviour on my part, which, whatever may be the opinion of a few of the members, I please myself with thinking is not the general sense of the board. I am happy in the persuasion that I cannot now fail of redress, if I am deserving thereof, and flatter myself, Gentlemen, if you are for continuing the Company's forces in that quarter, that I shall have your orders to proceed thither and take the command of them, unless you have any other more immediate call for my services.

It will be remembered that the reason for calling Major Carnac down from Patna in June, 1761, was to put an end to the disputes with the Nabob, and his application

application to go back at this time, when disputes were growing every day, has all the appearance of his wishing to make them worse.

The consultation of the 18 February, has a letter from the Patna Factory, which shews they were ready enough to make use of their own force without waiting for our orders.

K 4.—*Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna, to the Board.*

A Dearth some years ago, which had very nearly proved fatal to our troops here, made it necessary that some precaution should be taken to avoid as much as possible our experiencing the like distress in future. For this purpose, Mr. Amyatt, then Chief of this factory, established a Gunge, where our people have ever since been amply supplied with provisions, at a cheaper rate than they can be elsewhere, and at the same time prevented their falling into the numerous broils that must daily happen from their being obliged to seek their sustenance in the different markets of the city. Advantages well known to every person who has resided any time at Patna.

This Gunge the President agreed with the Nabob should be abolished, and in its stead he desired the Chief to lay up 20,000 maunds of grain on account of the Company, which we however have thought most proper to defer, not chusing to put our employers to what we deem an unnecessary and unprofitable risk, without the sanction of your orders.

The encouragement given Nobit Roy on this occasion, has induced him to seize, and carry away by force, all the dealers of this gunge, to detain boats loaded with our own particular property having dustucks, and to send the Chief word that he
will

will not suffer a further importation of grain; he has likewise publicly punished three boatmen, who have been long employed in this service, and made proclamations through the city, that whoever brings grain to the English shall be treated in the same manner, which can be construed in no other light, than a determination to distress us in the most tender point, viz. that of the necessaries of life.

After such insolence on his part, an observance of punctilios on our's would be truly ridiculous, and also deservedly subject us to the imputation of being wanting in our duty to those we serve, as well as to those committed to our charge, we shall therefore use as little ceremony in releasing our boats as he does in seizing them, avoid at the same time any kind of offence, but acting consistently with the first great law of nature. In the interim we shall expect your orders.

The subject of this letter was reserved to be considered along with the other disputed points, and the following plan was settled for conducting the debate.

First, To collect the opinion of the Board on the regulations settled with the Nabob by the President

Secondly, To determine on the Patna letters respecting the Burbunna Gate, the intrenchment by the river-side, and the Gunge.

Thirdly, On the disposition of the troops and Major Carnac's letter.

The 19th, the firmauns and grants not being ready, only the second article of the plan was considered, viz. Whether the Nabob should be permitted to shut up one of the gates of the Patna city, and to close the breach between the wall and the river, and whether Mr. Ellis should keep his Gunge. — The opinions were as follows.

Extract

Extract of Consultation of the 19th February 1763.

“ Read the following Minute delivered in by the
“ President relative to the Burbunna Gate, and
“ the Intrenchments.”

The President's Minute.

In order to understand the question concerning the Burbunna Gate, and the intrenchments by the water-side, it is necessary to describe the situation of the places, and to refer to what passed on this subject last year.

The city of Patna extending itself above two miles from East to West along by the river-side, has two principal gates, one at the east-end, the other at the west; between the western gate and the river-side, is the Burbunna-gate, or rather wicket, being a small entrance into a very narrow street; and the English factory being situated on the river-side, about two or three hundred yards to the westward of the city-walls, and from this gate-way, used to find a convenience in this entrance, as the principal western gate is a full half mile from the factory. The city is surrounded by a wall and ditch, except by the river-side. The north-east angle is closed by the Citadel, or rather the Nabob's palace, which extends itself into the river, so that there is no passage by it.

At the north-west end is a bastion, called the Mootany Bastion, between which and the river was an open passage into the town.

In the month of February 1762, several men of Captain Cairstair's party having deserted, Mr. Ellis sent to Rajebullub, then Naib of Patna, to desire he would give orders to prevent any of our soldiers from going into the city. Rajebullub acquainted the Nabob with Mr. Ellis's desire, and received or-

ders from him to shut all the gates and outlets of the city, except the east and west-gates, of which he advised Mr. Ellis, and desired he would order that none of the Europeans should go into the city, and that such of the people of the factory as had business there should enter by the western gate. Mr. Ellis wrote to Raj bullub in answer, that the shutting the Burbunna wicket would put a stop to all the business of the factory, and that therefore he must not shut it, and that at the same time he represented to the Board the inconvenience that would attend the shutting it, the west gate being distant from the factory at least half a mile; and mentioned that Rajebullub had begun to raise a wall from the bastion next the factory down to the river, thereby to prevent all communication, in so much that no boat could track up to the factory, and that the consequence of allowing it would be the obliging all boats to pull up the other side of the river: At the same time Mr. Ellis sent people to prevent the Burbunna-wicket being shut, or the outlet by the water-side closed. In consultation of the 22d of February, I was desired by the Board to write to the Nabob, to request him to order the Burbunna-gate to be left open, and in the letter to Mr. Ellis, where he is acquainted with this resolution, that he should prevent the wall or breast-work being carried on by the river-side, so far as it might obstruct boats tracking up on that side of the river. Agreeably to the resolution of the Board, I wrote to the Nabob, desiring he would order the Burbunna gate to be left open, for the convenience of our factory, and the Nabob gave orders accordingly.

Thus the affairs rested till I came to Mongheer, when the Nabob represented the inconvenience of having those two outlets left open.—“ That the
 “ Seapoys and other people of the factory often
 “ came

“ came into town by those ways, quarrelled
“ with the inhabitants, and plundered or ill-treated
“ them, and escaped again to the factory without
“ its being possible to bring them to justice ; and
“ that besides, the town could not be in a state of
“ defence until the passage by the river was se-
“ cured.”

As I was going to Patna, I told the Nabob I should be a better judge when I had seen the place myself. Upon my arrival at Patna, I took a view of the places with Mr. Ellis. The Burbunna-gate was no doubt a convenience to such of the servants of the factory as resided in the city, but to go round to the western gate is not a greater inconvenience than every person who has to do with a fortified town must submit to, nor do I find that the Company carry on any business in the city. And as to the opening between the Mootany-bastion and the river, it is such an one as no person who has the charge of a fortified place would on any account suffer ; so far from being secured by the English factory, I can assert, that it would be very easy for an enemy to pass by the factory by night, and enter the town before any alarm could be given ; besides the factory itself, which is in no respect like a fortification, might be taken by an enemy, and the city thereby exposed to certain destruction, if this passage must be left open. A case which, though not likely to happen, yet ought certainly to be guarded against.

As to the difficulty of boats going up by the river-side, it is a mere exaggeration, like many other parts of Mr. Ellis's dissertations on these subjects. Boats will have only to row or warp a few yards at the west-end, as they are already obliged to do at the east-end, where, as I have before observed, the Kella stops the passage, and where I saw boats pass up without the least difficulty ; and it is well known that there

are very many places between this and Patna, where boats cannot track on account of the Junguls, the steepness of the banks, or other obstructions. Finally, as the city belongs to the Nabob, and he is answerable for the charge of it, and for the persons and properties of the inhabitants, he has undoubted right to fortify it in any manner he pleases. These my sentiments I explained fully to Mr. Ellis. And Nobit Roy having applied to me on the subject, I gave him an answer, of which application and answer, the following are copies.

From Nobit Roy to the Governor.

By reason of the passage by the water-side, and the wickets of the fort being open, the town could not be properly taken care of; I therefore shut up the wickets, and left the east and west gates for people to pass in and out, yet the inconveniencies will not be remedied, until the Burbunna-wicket and the passages by the water-side are also stopt up. Had the passage of the Burbunna-wicket, &c. been stoppt, how could the Bouglepoor thieves and prisoners have made their escape; the passage and wicket being open, renders it impossible for me to protect the town, and is a means of disturbance in my affairs, of contempt of the government, and of insecurity to the fort. As the care of the fort is a necessary work, and the regulation of it is my business, it therefore belongs to me also to shut up the wickets and the passage; if I am prevented from doing this, what is the advantage of my staying here?

From the Governor to Nobit Roy.

I understand what you write about shutting up the Burbunna-gate and the passage by the river-side, and I have seen the two places you speak of.
The

The stopping up the passage by the river side is a very proper work. As to the shutting up the gate, although there seems to be no great necessity for it, and the going round about will be an inconvenience to the factory, yet as it is the Nabob's order, do it whenever you think proper, no one will interrupt you.

Major Carnac's Remark on the President's Minute.

Major Carnac begs leave to observe, in answer to that part of the President's minute, in vindication of the Nabob's strengthening that part of the city so close to our factory, that it cannot be necessary, unless he means to strengthen it against the factory itself, which he persuades himself the majority of the Board will look upon as a greater security to that end of the city than the temporary trifling works now thrown up by the Nabob.

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

Mr. Watts is of opinion that the Nabob ought to be wrote to, to open the gate and throw down the pallisadoes, and such part of the entrenchment as obstructs the tracking of the boats to the factory on that side of the river.

Mr. *Marriot* is of the same opinion.

Mr. Hay's Opinion.

Mr. Hay is of the same opinion, with this addition, that if the Nabob refuses to comply with the President's desire, Mr. Ellis should then have orders to open the gate, and throw down to much of the intrenchment as obstructs the passage of the boats.

Mr. Johnstone's Opinion.

Mr. Johnstone is of opinion, that the shutting up the Burbunna-gate, and making the trench and pallisadoes into the river, could be of no service for the security of the town against a foreign enemy whilst the Nabob depends on us as his friends; and that it remarks, in this time of tranquillity, a distrust of us in particular, and has been so understood by every body in those quarters, and is considered as an advantage gained over our Chief in a point hitherto disputed with the Nabob, though never desired by his predecessors. To keep up our credit therefore, and for the great convenience it is to us, and ever has been to our factory, he thinks the Nabob should be addressed, as the general sentiments of the Board, to restore things to the situation they were in before, and if he refuses, that Mr. Ellis should be empowered to do it himself.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

As every occasion should be avoided of alarming the people of the country with the appearances of distrust, or contention between the Nabob and us, and as it has been deemed that the cases now in debate have such a tendency, Mr. Hastings is of opinion, that the President should write to the Nabob, and desire him to cause the Burbunna-gate to be opened, and the entrenchments by the river-side made passable for boats. But he sees no occasion for sending a public order to the gentlemen at Patna, to effect either by force, nor does he think it can be done without manifest violation of our treaty of alliance with the Nabob, as he has the sole authority to take such measures for the regulation or strengthening of his own fortified city, as he thinks proper,

proper, whilst he encroaches upon none of our known rights.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

Mr. Cartier begs leave to observe, that never having been at Patna, he can form no other judgment as to the affairs of the Burbunna-gate, and the circumstances of its being shut, than what he has been informed of by the letters from Patna.

From them he finds the servants of the factory have now a convenient communication with the city, as likewise their hospital; that the shutting up the gate is a matter of pique, and intended to affront Mr. Ellis, and if him, consequently the nation, and must have been considered in that light by the inhabitants of Patna, who apprehensive of the consequences, many have left their houses, and carried their families to other parts; that this proceeding has raised a notion in the country of our little attachment to the Nabob, which he has very imprudently encouraged by the suspicions he seems to harbour in his mind, and acting in a manner so contrary to that confidence he ought to place in us; that our attachment to him is his sole security and safeguard, which if once lessened, or even suspected to be so, might probably have the worst of consequences on his affairs; that for his own safety, and freeing the country from disturbances, it ought to be a point insisted upon, that the said gate should be opened; more particularly, as it was the only one of the city left open during the troubles of three years in that province, and no danger from being continued to be so in a time of profound peace can possibly be dreaded; and if the President's application on this head is not complied with, that directions shall be sent to Mr. Ellis to open it, and that part of the intrenchment to be thrown down that is a real inconvenience to the factory.

Mr. Billers and Mr. Batson's Opinions.

Mr. Batson considers the shutting up of the Burbunna-gate, and the intrenchments raised by the Nabob against our factory, is an indignity designed us, and really an act of hostility ; he is therefore of opinion that the gate should be ordered to be left open as formerly, and so much of the intrenchment removed, as Mr. Ellis and the council may judge for the safety and convenience of our factory ; and we should write to the Nabob to give orders for the above purposes, which if he refuses to comply with, Mr. Ellis should be ordered to execute them.

Major Carnac's Opinion.

By the Burbunna-gate has been time out of mind a communication between the city and factory, therefore the Nabob's ordering it to be shut up cannot but argue in him an indisposition towards us, especially as the works executing there, carry all the appearance of a desire to strengthen himself on the side next to us ; nor does it appear that any advantage or conveniency will result to the Nabob from the stopping this communication, and the reason principally insisted on seems to be, that the Nabob is master of his own city, and may do as he pleases. The same might with equal justice be given for his refusing to allow any entrance whatever to the English into the city ; he has done the next thing to it ; rendered our admission as inconvenient as possible to us. Besides, the gentlemen at Patna assure us their boats will, from the obstructions now made, be exposed to great risks. The Major is therefore of opinion, that the Nabob should be wrote to in the most pressing manner, and representations made to him, that the shutting the Burbunna-gate cannot fail creating throughout the country,

country, the persuasion that he and the English are upon bad terms, which it is equally his business as ours to prevent ; that therefore, to remove any suspicions of that nature, we must insist upon that gate being again opened, and that part of the city be left in the usual state. If after such representations the Nabob continues obstinate, the Major thinks the Board will be justified in giving orders to Mr. Ellis to open the communication, and the Nabob will have only himself to blame for having reduced us to that necessity.

Mr. Amyatt's Opinion.

Mr. Amyatt declares, that of his own knowledge this gate has been kept open for these nineteen years past, and was the only one of the city which was open during the time of the two sieges at Patna, as being esteemed a necessary communication with the factory, by the guns whereof it was covered ; that he therefore imagines the shutting of it up must proceed either from a pique to Mr. Ellis, or an intention to diminish the English influence in the country ; that for these reasons, and, as it is attended with great inconvenience to us, and no advantage to the Nabob, he agrees in opinion with Mr. Hay in regard to opening it, and removing the intrenchment by the water-side.

Major Adams's Opinion.

Major Adams is of opinion that the shutting of this gate is of no advantage to the Nabob ; that so far from strengthening the city, he thinks it rather contributes to weaken it, and has an appearance of a jealousy subsisting, which may be prejudicial to the Company's affairs, and to the Nabob himself ; and that therefore the President ought to write to
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the Nabob, to insist upon the gates being opened, and a necessary passage left from the intrenchment for the tracking of boats.

In consequence of the substance of the opinion of the Board, the President acquaints them he will send a letter to the Nabob, to the following purport.

To the Nabob.

19 February 1763.

TH E Chief and Council of Patna factory have represented to me and the Council of Calcutta, that by shutting up the Burbunna-gate or wicket of the city, all the servants of the factory are subjected to great inconvenience in going to and from their houses, and the Company's business impeded ; and further, that by carrying on a wall or intrenchment from the Bastion to the water-side, boats are prevented from tracking up to the factory, and will be obliged to pull up on the other side, which will be a great inconvenience to the business of the Company and the gentlemen of the factory, and it appears to me that the Burbunna-gate has always been open for twenty years past, and that during the troubles, when the city was besieged, the said gate was of particular service, as assistance went by that road from the factory for the defence of the city, and the shutting it up at this time has not a good appearance, but raises distrust and jealousy in the minds of the people, and fills the inhabitants with apprehensions, as if there subsisted not a perfect friendship between you and the Company ; and as such reports are equally prejudicial to your affairs, and the Company's, and it is unreasonable you should lay any obstructions in the way of the Company's business, or the servants of the factory ; it is therefore thought very improper on all accounts

counts, to shut up the said gate, and I write to you therefore, according to the advice of the Council, to desire you will order it to be kept open as before, as reports of this kind to prejudice and diminish the Company's name, will not be admitted; and that you will order the wall or entrenchment, from the bastion to the river-side, to be made in such a manner, that there may be room for the boat people to track up the boats.

As your compliance herewith can be attended with no loss or hindrance to your affairs, it is necessary that you give orders accordingly, that the people may see there is an entire confidence and friendship between you and the Company, and all jealousies and apprehensions may be removed.

The reasoning of the Council upon the foregoing subject, amounts to this, that the shutting up the gate of the city, and closing the breach or passage between that and the river, would have an appearance of a jealousy or disagreement between the Nabob and the Company; wherefore he should be wrote to in a peremptory manner to keep them open, and if he did not comply, Mr. Ellis should open them by force. A most extraordinary method of removing all appearances of jealousy and disagreement.

With respect to the Gunge, the whole Board agree in the impropriety of Mr. Ellis's keeping it, and the following resolution was made.

“ With respect to the Gunge, it is unanimously
“ agreed by the Board, that instead thereof, a li-
“ mited number of licenced shopkeepers shall be
“ established, to supply with provisions the Bazars
“ of the army and the factory; that they shall not
“ however become a Gunge or wholesale market,
“ but erect their shops and storehouses in such place
“ as shall be agreed on between the Chief and No-
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“ bit Roy, and suffer the usual customs to be collected by a Daroga on the part of the Government; and that all this being done, the present Gunge is to be removed.”

L 4. — The next consultation, the 22d, was taken up with the reading the firmauns and grants, and it was agreed that the several members should prepare their opinions upon the regulations I had made with the Nabob, and the extent of the priviledges of our private trade, by way of answer to the following six questions.

1st. Whether by the Firmaun and subsequent treaties, we have a right to trade in every article, whether for foreign or inland trade, duty free.

2^d. Whether any duties ought to be paid to the country Government on salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, or any other articles.

3^d. Whether the Company's dustuck shall be for the future granted for such articles.

“ Of late the trade of salt from Calcutta up the country has been carried on by the English inhabitants in general, who having first paid the duties at Hougly, and having got the Fougedar's dustuck or rewâna, had then a passport or certificate from the President to accompany it.”

4th. Whether certificates should in future be granted to any but company's servants.

5th Whether the English Gomastahs in any part of the three provinces shall be subject in any manner to the controul of the Officers of the country Government, and how far.

6th. If not, how are we to regulate the disputes that may happen betwixt them and the country Government, and particularly in those parts where we have no factory.

At the same consultation (the 22d February) was read the following letter of complaint from Lucky-poor.

Copy

*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Middleton to the
Governor and Council.*

Dated 16 February 1763.

I Addressed you the 14th instant, and informed you that the houses of Golâm Hossain, and Mahomed Gêzy, servants of this factory, were beset by Aga Nazam, Mahomed Aly's Deputy at Jugdea. I have since received intelligence, that on the 12th instant Aga Nazam had summoned these people to surrender on that day, the consequence of which was, that the mother and sister took poison, but instant relief being given them, they are yet alive; the rest found means to escape by a back door, and left their houses to the mercy of Aga Nazam, who of course has plundered and destroyed them. One of the women that escaped has been brought to bed but a few days; what is become of her, the infant, and other women, I cannot tell, but have sent people to enquire after them; I must inform you that these two men are of a considerable family, who have always been much respected in the country, and remarkable for their attachment to the English, particularly in the year 1756, when they afforded protection and assistance to our servants, at a time that it was refused by the French, and every one else at Jugdea. I inclose you a letter which I received from one Syed Buddul Cawn, a Fougedar appointed by Mahomed Aly in these districts, to whom I wrote on this occasion, by which this act seems to have been done by Mahomed Aly's directions. I also inclose to you copies of two letters from Syed Buddul Cawn, and Aga Nazam, to Golâm Hossain, and Mahomed Gâzy, recommending the latter to quit the English employ, if he expects to have any favours shewn him. By
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these letters and other circumstances it appears that their being servants to the English is the sole cause of their misfortunes; therefore I have assured them that you will not fail of obtaining all possible redress; and what further particulars I may be able to learn of this affair, I will hereafter communicate to you.

Our cloath business in the Manorgunge Pergunnah, where several of the Company's sortments are made, is entirely put a stop to by one Comar Aly, Wadader there, and our Gomastahs and other servants have been obliged to return to Luckypoor; leaving a large sum outstanding in the picars and weavers hands. This Comar Aly is the person who ordered by public beat of tomtom, that none of his tenants should at their peril transact any business with the English, of which Mr. Billers advised you in his address of the 22d ultimo.

To what we have from time to time alledged against Mahomed Aly, give me leave to observe, that his rapacious cruelty is so conspicuous in the unheard of oppressive measures taken by him in the Purgunnahs hereabouts, and so particularly aimed at those people that are and have been in our employ, or any way negotiating with us, that it seems his design is to the utmost of his power to throw every obstacle in our way in the course of trade, both the Company's and private, but more particularly the latter, that a powerful inveterate enmity can suggest. How far we have suffered in our private concerns, is partly known to you by the account transmitted by Mr. Billers. Several of our boats have since that been stopt on various pretences, although we have paid the Nabob's duties as in former times.

Yesterday advice was brought me that some people belonging to the Government were measuring our grounds, in order to take possession of them,

and had demanded rents from our tenants. I immediately sent a few Seapoys and Peons, who this morning brought in two of the principals employed on this occasion; soon after I had seized these people, a number of men collected themselves together, and have been plundering the houses of our tenants, and carried away their cattle, &c. This has obliged me to send a strong party of Seapoys to the extent of our bounds, to prevent any further insults of this kind. I thought it necessary to inform you of this circumstance, as I imagine it will be represented in a very different light by Mahomed Aly's party.

Upon this it was resolved to seize three Officers of the Government complained against, in which resolution the President agreed; for as the question was now, whether the acting persons complained against should be seized, or war made directly with the Nabob himself; he concurred in the former, as he yet did not doubt but the Nabob would submit to any terms that should be proposed to him by the Council, rather than enter into a war.

The next consultation, (the 1st March) the opinion of all the Members were delivered in upon the six questions proposed the 22d February. The majority declared the extent of the privileges of our private trade to be unlimited, and that the duties which hitherto had been paid to the country Government on salt, and some other articles, were only a compliment which might be continued or not, as we pleased. This pretension must appear to all reasonable men as unjust, as it was new, for who can suppose the Mogul Emperor meant by his Firmaund to give us a right to trade from place to place in the centre of his own country, upon a better footing than his own subjects? His granting us an exemption from customs upon our foreign or shipping trade, is natural, because it was attended
with

with the double advantage of giving vent to the manufactories of his dominions, and importing bullion and other useful commodities. Much has already been said upon this subject, and we will come now to the several opinions of the members of the Board, which were as follows.

Extract of Consultation of the 1st March 1763.

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

Mr. Watts is of opinion, in answer to the questions proposed last Council day,

1st. That by the Firmauns and Hufbulhookms, the English East India Company have an undoubted right to trade in every article produced in the Indostan Empire, either for foreign or inland trade, and that dustucks ought to be given with any articles, and that Meer Mahomed Jaffier Aly Cawn in his treaty has very particularly confirmed the same for the provinces under the Subadery of Bengal.

2^d. That duties ought not to be paid to the Country Government in salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, or any article that have a dustuck with them.

3^d. That Dustucks be granted with such articles for the future.

4th. That no passports or certificates should be granted to Company's servants or others, but that salt have a dustuck with it, if the sole property of a Company's servant, but not to other English inhabitants.

5th. That the President, in his letter to the Nabob, has given up the privilege which the Company enjoyed by this Firmaun; and therefore he continues in the same sentiments as in the consultation of the 17th January.

6th. That subjecting our English Gomastahs to
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the Country Government, would entirely prevent us from carrying on our trade, nor is there any necessity for any regulations in those parts where we have an English factory, but in the distant parts of the provinces something is necessary to be established, as well for preventing our Gomastahs from being guilty of oppressions to the country people, as to keep the Officers of the Government from behaving in the manner they have lately done. That this point can only be settled betwixt the Nabob and us.

Mr. Marriot's Opinion.

Mr. Marriot is of opinion, that the President ought to have waited till he could have received an answer from the Board, before he wrote the letter to the Nabob, as no paragraph of the Board's letter to the President appears to authorize him to conclude a treaty without their approbation, unless their willingness to have affairs settled with the Nabob on a solid basis, with the security of our rights and privileges be construed into that sense, which he does not imagine was the intention of the Board. That in regard to the treaty itself, it differs far from our Firmaund and Sunnuds, granted in consequence of our treaties with Surajah Dowla and Jaffier Aly Cawn; particularly in giving up our right of granting Duffucks for inland trade, (tho' some few articles may have been denied us trading in by the Country Government, unless we paid duties on them) notwithstanding our Honourable Masters strongly recommend the being jealous of our Firmaund privileges, and also in submitti g our Gomastahs and dependants to be under the Government's jurisdiction, and liable on every occasion to be called before their courts, which is greatly derogatory to the English name, and must take
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from us that sway we ought to have in the country, without which no business will be able to be carried on, and will greatly prejudice not only the quality and quantity, but also enhance the price of every article of the Company's investments; that so far from submitting our Gomastahs and dependants to the Government's courts of judicature, our Firmaund expressly orders all our dependants that are indebted to us and run away, to be immediately delivered up to us, and that the Government's people should give us all the assistance they can on such an occasion, in order to recover our demands.

That in regard to exchange of money, as we have undoubted right to coin siccas from our Firmaund and Sunnuds, we ought to insist that those we coin should pass; but to obviate any loss that might arise by Batta on Siccas of a different mint at another place, we should get stamps of the several mints where we have occasion to send money, and coin with those stamps accordingly.

For these reasons I entirely dissent to the treaty, the ill consequences must now appear too plain every where, it being a dangerous system to trust the Government's people with so great a power. Their character of being rapacious and tyrannical would, I thought, have been well known to every one. I am further of opinion the said letter of the President to the Nabob should be demanded back, or hereafter bad consequences may arise from it.

In reply to the different articles proposed by the Board, Mr. Marriot is of opinion, that by the Firmaund and subsequent treaties we have a right to trade in foreign and inland articles of trade, if a direct assertion is a sufficient proof, and not one single article of trade prohibited us by the Firmaund, &c. That the Government denying us to trade in a few articles, without we pay duties on them,

them, is usurping an authority they were formerly forbid, as by the tenor of the Firmaund it appears; that further usurpations, and limiting our trade were attempted by Aliverdy Khan's ministers, in respect of paying duties on sugar, and which the Company remonstrate much against, and desire we will take care those things may not be brought into a precedent, which shews the opinion they entertained of those encroachments, and by their several regulations and orders concerning dustucks, it plainly appears they only meant their servants should not cover any black merchant's goods, or others that had not the privilege of a dustuck, and by that means defraud the Government of the duties they would otherwise have collected on the said merchant's goods, which, in case of being detected, might have been a plea for stopping the Company's business, and embroiling their affairs.

That in consequence of the Government's collecting a duty on salt, which we for the most part have acquiesced in, a duty should be paid them at one place, and a stated sum for each hundred maunds, at the rate the Moor merchants pay, and the salt pass with the Company's dustuck, (more particularly as it is the produce of their own Jagheers) and the collector of the said duties receipt for the same; after which the boats not to be detained at any gaut or chokey, further than to give the chokeydar time to take a copy of our dustuck. That as the Company's dustuck has been granted for beetle-nut and tobacco, they are articles we should not give up, but continue the Company's dustuck for those articles accordingly. That our acquiescing in paying duties on salt ought to be looked on as a concession on our parts, as the demanding them is certainly an infringement of our Firmaund privileges; but as the other Subahs have received them, the Nabob has custom to plead for

his receiving them also, and as we have supported him in all his ancient privileges, we ought to continue this to him, that it might not be detrimental to his revenues.

That the granting a certificate to English inhabitants trading in salt for what they purchase, has no bad consequence attending it, as this interferes not with any branch of the Company's, and therefore thinks the President should grant them to those who are not covenanted servants.

That the subjecting our Gomastahs to the controul of the Officers of the Country Government, must, he conceives, be attended with the worst of consequences, as it is giving up one of our Firmaund privileges, which must make us esteemed very light in the eyes of the generality of people, and consequently treated with contempt by them, and be the means of depriving our Gomastahs of the influence necessary for carrying on the least business. That in order to prevent our Gomastahs from making a bad use of their authority, and injuring or diminishing the Government's revenues, or interfering the least in them, (this being one of the chief articles of complaint against our Gomastahs) they should be again positively forbid holding lands, villages, gunges, &c. of the Government, and an immediate example made of those that disobey, and then no other matters of dispute can arise but in those of trade, when the party injured should apply for redress to the chief of the nearest English factory, who no doubt is invested with authority sufficient to make the Gomastah complained against appear, and answer to the complaint, if appearing true; and a few severe examples made on the Gomastahs, would, I flatter myself, in a short time, have the desired effect, and no injustice be committed by English Gomastahs in future.

Mr.

Mr. Hay's Opinion.

My reasons for joining with the other members of the Board present, the 17th January, in passing the censure on the President, minuted on the consultation that day, are, that by the treaty or written security, that the Governor passed to the Nabob the principal rights and privileges of the English Company, granted them by the King's Firmaund and Hufbul-kookams from Delly, (confirmed and fully explained by the treaties with Serajah Dowlah and Meer Jaffier Cawn, and enjoyed since those treaties almost in full) are given up without one single advantage gained for the Company; but on the contrary, the total loss of the English credit and reputation in these provinces, which has been declining these two years past, was the visible consequence of this agreement, to every one who saw it, and was the least acquainted with the nature of the country people; and it now grieves me to think that the wisest regulations, and the most steady conduct of the Board, will not be able to prevent the immediate bad effects of this ill concerted and unauthorized proceedings of Mr. Vansittart, as too plainly appears from the letters received from the Subordinates, and the general complaints of all our Agents and Gomastahs, which shew there is almost every where a stop to, or great incumbrances on our business, and that our servants are particularly ill used and oppressed.

In considering the arguments for and against the present treaty, entered into with the Nabob by the President, it is absolutely necessary to the forming a true judgment on the affair, that the unjust methods used in the country-courts of justice, as well as the methods practised by the country merchants, in conducting their affairs, should be continually in your mind.

The impossibility of carrying on business when subjected to the country-courts, I think must appear plain to every one, when it is considered, that for all sums of money recovered in them, you are obliged to pay, besides the expences of the court, a chout of twenty-five *per cent.* on the money recovered, which if the English do not submit to pay, it will always be the interest of the Jemmadars, &c. to decide against them. This I only mention as one of the numberless grievances we should suffer if subjected to their authority. The country merchants are sensible of the impossibility of carrying on business under such disadvantages, and are therefore obliged to buy the protection of some person of authority in the Government, (if their own influence is not sufficient) which sets them above the reach of the lower Jemmadars of the country, protects them from the violence of all, and at the same time gives them a kind of judicial authority, so far as to confine the weavers and picars, when they cannot recover their balances from them otherwise. This being well understood, I imagine, was the principal reason for the Company's being at so great an expence in procuring their Firmaund and Husbulhookums, which exempt the Company from those inconveniences, and likewise of the great care that was taken to preserve them in their full force, by the treaties with Serajah Dowlah and Meer Jaffier Cawn.

Before I come to consider the different articles of the treaty, it is necessary to remark, that the Governor's arguing both in his letters and minutes, in support of this transaction, is on a supposition that the great st enormities have been and are committed by the English Gomastahs throughout the country, to the great detriment of the Nabob's revenues and Government. But that this has not been the case, will, I think, plainly appear
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from the several complaints made against them, being no further supported than by the assertion of those by whom made, and whose interest it was to make complaint, as some excuse for their non-payment of what was demanded of them; whereas if there was any foundation for these complaints, it was so much in their power, and so agreeable to the present Government and the President, that they should be proved that they could never have wanted means to have done it, and likewise by the numberless oppressions that our Gomastahs and people have suffered throughout the country for many months past; for it is not to be conceived, that people treated in the manner they have been could have it in their power to be guilty of those extravagant violences and enormities, which they are represented to have been by Mr. Vansittart. Thus much premised, I shall now consider Mr. Vansittart's written security or obligation to the Nabob, article by article.

In the first, Mr. Vansittart has given up the right which the Company have by their Firmaund, Hufbulhookums, and subsequent treaties of granting dustucks, except for ship-merchandise; laid a tax of nine *per cent.* on all other traffick, and in a manner acknowledged, that the English do carry on their trade by force or violence, extortion or unfair dealing.

I think the Board could never have justified themselves for giving up the Company's privileges in this manner, and of course, that Mr. Vansittart, unauthorized as he was to enter into any treaty, could have no right to do it; but suppose it otherwise, how was it to be determined which were, and which were not ship-merchandise. Mr. Vansittart, indeed, in a subsequent article, has left that to be determined by those whose interest it must be to determine them not to be so.

In the arguments used for the tax of nine *per cent.* on the trade from one part of the country to another, it is throughout insinuated, that this is less than what has usually been paid; and Mr. Vansittart says, that on all the trade of this kind that he has carried on in salt, &c. he has paid the country duties; but from my own knowledge as well as inquiry, I have reason to think, that of the innumerable articles traded in in this way, only salt and tobacco have paid any; the former of which by far the most considerable, I believe last year, on a medium, did not pay above three *per cent.* although we submitted to pay the established country duties. Mr. Vansittart, on being asked in Council last Tuesday what those articles were that he meant by salt, &c. replied, only salt, for that he never traded in any other. How ill then is his argument supported by his declaration, when explained. On the whole, I believe we are by this, instead of trading duty free, which I think we have an undoubted right to, loaded with a duty more than double what is paid by the Dutch, Armenians, or any people of the country.

The acknowledging then in a publick writing, that the English do carry on their trade by force or violence, extortion or unfair dealings, as I imagine, without any foundation for such assertion, is so hurtful to the reputation of the English in this country, that I look on it in the same light that I do the giving up the privilege of the Firmaund.

By the second article, contrary to privileges that the English enjoy by grants and treaties, themselves and Gomastahs are subjected to the jurisdiction of the meanest Officer the Nabob employs, without the liberty of an appeal.

I find so many objections of the same nature as were made to the last to be made to this, and every article of this treaty, that I shall only remark

on the whole of the remaining articles, that by being debarred the liberty of making salt, we are deprived of a privilege that every person, European and others, in the country have but ourselves.

That giving up the right of coining in the different mints, is oversetting a privilege granted from Delly.

That the throwing the whole trade of Affam and Rungamatty into the hands of one person, is a monopoly most destructive to trade, and more particularly if what Mr. Vansittart advances be just, that the duty on cotton alone in that country brings in a revenue of 40,000 Rupees, which if you suppose at 5 per cent. must be raised on 800,000 Rupees' worth, which if thus monopolized, must greatly raise the price of that article, and of course the price of cloth.

Upon the whole, I think the written security should be demanded of the Nabob and destroyed, to prevent in future times, when our affairs may not be in the flourishing situation they are at present in Bengal, in regard to force, a bad use being made of it; for it is probable that the government would, in case of having the upper hand in the country, make use of it to invalidate the privileges the English enjoy by their Firmaund, Husbulhookum, and treaties.

In answer to question the 1st, I say Yes.

To question the 2d, No.

To question the 3d, Yes.

To question the 4th, That certificates should be given after the duties are paid.

To question the 5th, Not at all.

In answer to question the 6th, I say as formerly, agreeable to the Phirmaund, that a plan be laid down by the Board, to prevent any injuries being done by the English Gomastahs, and for punishing them that are guilty, which I think may be well done

done by a committee appointed for that purpose, who should receive all complaints and appeals from subordinates, or the agents residing with authority of the Board in those quarters, and examine them; and as it appears that great part, if not the whole of the troubles that have happened to the English and their Gomastahs of late, are owing to the orders sent over the country by the Nabob, I think it highly necessary that we have always a senior servant, resident with the Nabob, who should be acquainted with all orders regarding the English. This, I think, we have a right to demand, and is what we should insist on, as it will in future prevent our so long being ignorant of the source of our troubles, as we have lately been.

Mr. Johnstone's Opinion.

Mr. Johnstone thinks the President's letter to the Nabob, containing the new regulations he intends to establish is from its object still as well as concessions highly dishonourable to us, and such as could not fail of ruining our trade and influence, and reducing us lower than ever the English were yet, at any period in this country. That the President without authority, or any urgent necessity that yet appears, or can be conceived, resigned to the Nabob those rights and privileges we are intitled to by the Firmaund, and subsequent treaties, and have hitherto enjoyed by virtue of them. 1st, By distinguishing the Company's trade from that of their servants, and agreeing to an exorbitant duty of 9 per cent. on all articles of the inland-trade, without distinction or examination of what had usually been paid on any of those articles at the different subordinates, establishing the rule upon that paid by the gentlemen of Luckypoor, though expressly mentioned by them to be more than what
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was paid at Dacca, and known to be above double the duty paid heretofore at Houghly, and though salt was the only article in his own private inland-trade, that the President remembers to have ever paid any duty on before this time. 2dly, In subjecting the English and their Gomastahs under the authority of the Moors-courts of judicature, contrary to the privileges we have ever enjoyed of protecting those employed under us, and being ourselves the judges of their actions, the many ill consequences of which, and the entire loss of that credit and pre-eminence we have ever maintained, is evident to every body; of which we have had ample proof since the circulation of the regulations in every quarter by the abuse of the power so eagerly put into their hands, by the stoppage of our trade, and attacks openly made on those entitled to our protection. 3dly, By prohibiting at once, without reason, or ever consulting the Board, the Company's servants at the factories of Luckypoor, Iftamabad, &c. from making salt-works themselves, which is a liberty not denied to any native of the country, and by which their fortunes have been and are endangered, as no time was allowed for collecting in the money they had laid out, and the balances due could only be recovered by receiving the salt from the Molongies they had employed. The article ordering, without any limitation, that all purchases of lands made by any of the servants of our factories should be resigned, was, I think, unjust and dishonourable to us, as if our servants, where they paid the due demands to the government, were not entitled to our protection.

The article directing, that the Chiefs and servants of the factories, are not to hinder the weavers or brokers of the government, has been considered as giving full power to the Nabob's officers over the people, and may turn to the ruin of the Company's

pany's investments, as appears by the proceedings of Mahomed Aly at the Dacca Arungs.

The foregoing privilege we had of coining in the mints of Patna and Dacca, while no provision was made for the currency of our Siccas at those places without discount, was yielding up what the Company could demand of right.

Ordering all purchases at Gualparah to be made entirely through the Nabob's Droga, was an infringement of our rights of a free trade in that quarter, and against the treaty with Jaffier Aly Cawn, by which we are free from being even obliged to buy by the intervention of Dilolls.

The minute of the Board the 17th January, on the proceedings of the President, therefore to me appears well grounded, and I think the treaty ought to be recovered from the Nabob and destroyed, that so bad a precedent may never be established and used against us.

Next in regard to the questions proposed; I think, 1st, That by virtue of the Firmaund, Huf-bulhookums, and the treaties with Serajah Dowla and Meer Jaffier Aly Cawn, the Company and their servants have a right, without any restriction or limitation, to trade in, and grant dustucks for every article, whether for foreign or inland-trade, our having been restricted by the power of the Subahs before the revolution from the full enjoyments of these rights, can never be urged as a good argument to invalidate them, when we become powerful enough to assert them; they were established as fully and clearly as could be expressed in the public treaties then concluded, and in sunnuds and dustucks afterwards, in consequence, by Serajah Dowla, and Jaffier Aly Cawn, for the interrupted currency of our trade, through the undisputable authority of the dustuck, wherever it was granted. And these sunnuds were not merely for
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such quarters where the Company had factories and aurungs, but comprehended also all the distant frontier provinces, where they had not the least trade of any kind, as Rungpore, Purnea, Rangamatty, Dinagepoor, Sillet, &c. And Jaffier Aly Cawn yet agrees that he understood the treaty in this sense, that wherever a Company's dustuck was granted, no duty could ever be demanded. If custom, and what privileges we enjoyed under the Moors' government before the revolution, are to be established, as what only we have a right to trade in now, by virtue of our grants, Firmaunds, &c. there is scarce an article of the gruff-trade, whether for export or consumption, in Calcutta, and other places in the kingdom, but we must give up. For it is known we could not professedly in our own names trade in these articles, though willing to pay the duties, and arbitrary extortions required on such occasions. These various other articles of gruff are no more particularized or excepted in any treaty or Firmaund, &c. &c than the two articles of salt and tobacco, and have been ever since the treaty with Serajah Dowla, carried on with the Company's dustuck. That we have acquiesced in paying duty on the single article of salt, and passing it with the Shawbunder's Raunna at Calcutta, Dacca, and Luckypoor, should not now, I think, weigh with us to continue it, when our rights are called in question, and we are bound to support them in their full extent. Above all, as this article is the produce of the Company's own lands at Calcutta, Purgannahs Chittagong, Midnapore, Jallasore, and Burdwan, and as it makes a considerable branch of their revenue, it ought as much as possible to be protected and encouraged, instead of being oppressed with new taxes, exceeding above double of what it has yet paid. As for the article of tobacco, no dustuck from the government has ever been taken,
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and the duty paid on it has never been demanded till after its arrival at Dacca, and at Cossimbuzar the Company's dustucks have always been granted, and never disputed for this article.

2d, I think therefore that the Government have no right to demand that, or any other duties where the dustuck is granted, and that it should be now granted on salt and tobacco, as it has been heretofore for beetlenut, rice, ghee, opium, sugar, &c. articles consumed in the country as well as exported.

3d, Those European inhabitants who by the Company's directions are not entitled to dustucks, should not be freed from paying the duties, yet, when these are discharged, for the ease of trade, I think a passport or certificate from the President might accompany the Ruanna of the Buxshbunder.

4th, The English Gomastahs in any part of the three provinces, should be subject in no manner to the Country Government: They are not in my opinion more than their principals to be accountable to them; I believe they never were; and no step could possibly have been taken more surely to ruin our trade, influence, and respect in the country, than acknowledging them our absolute masters and judges: the Company have ever protected their Gomastahs, and those of their servants. While we have subordinate factories, and a fixed government here, justice may always be had when complaints are well grounded, and can be proved by the Government's dependents; nor need we be startled with these laid before us, but from the subject, exaggeration, and groundlessness of most of them. Conceive what a state of wretched dependence we should fall into, were we liable to be called upon every such like absurd complaint preferred to the Country Government. In those more distant quarters where the Company have not factories, the trade is generally managed by gentlemen who have
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had the approbation of the Board, to go up the country and give in security for their good behaviour. They may be presumed more to be depended on for determining equitably any disputes about points of trade, which is all they should or need have any connection with, than any zemindary court; an appeal might nevertheless always lie from them to the nearest subordinate, and when such persons are publicly known in permission, and authority of the Board, to whom they are to be accountable, they may, without any new regulation, or innovation, carry on their trade, to the satisfaction of the people, and without any detriment to, or interfering with the collection of the revenues.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

My name already appearing to the letter proposing the regulations, which form the substance of the President's letter to the Nabob, it will hardly be expected of me to join in the harsh and unmerited censures past upon them by the members which then formed the Board. I at that time regarded these regulations, not as a concession of any new rights to the Nabob, but a confirmation of those which he held by the treaties already in force, nor has any thing appeared since, to make me change that opinion.

My sentiments upon the extent of our dustucks, and the privileges of our Gomastahs, I shall give fully hereafter, observing only in this place, that in settling the duties on the inland trade at 9 per cent. the Governor only fixed the rate, which was before variable, levied with continual disputes, to the great detriment of the fair trader; and in this he acted in strict conformity to the plain and literal instructions

instructions of the Board, whatever sense they were intended to convey.

The President has so fully explained the motives and reasons for this transaction, that it is needless for me to take up the time of the Board with a repetition of them. Upon the whole, I declare it as my opinion, that the regulations in question were calculated in the best manner to put our trade upon a proper footing, to distinguish our rights from those of the Nabob, to preserve the English name from reproach, and the affairs of the Company from suffering by continual disputes and contentions in which they had no concern.

To understand the meaning of any treaty where the expressions are doubtful or defective, recourse should be had to the circumstances of the parties concerned at the time in which they were made. Regarding the Firmaund in this light, we shall make no scruple to pronounce, that the Company could not when they obtained that grant from the Court of Delhy, understand it to extend beyond their own trade, or include privileges of which they could not make any use, and which (I may add) they never dreamt of. The commerce in imports and exports ever bounded (as of necessity it must) their concerns in the country. For the encouragement of a trade so beneficial to the country and its revenues, the Court, at that time in its most flourishing state, and supported by wise and able ministers, indulged the Company with the freedom which they petitioned for from duties. Then the trade in such commodities as were produced and sold in the country, was entirely confined to the natives. They were either farmed out where they were considerable enough to make an article in the public revenues, or circulated through the province by the poorer sort of people, to whom, whilst they
afforded

afforded a subsistence, they at the same time added to the income of the state, by the duties gathered upon them. Let us suppose the Company's agents had petitioned for the liberty of trading in these articles without paying duties; can it be conceived that the government could have been so blind to its own interest, as to have given a privilege to strangers, which would have enabled them to monopolize the whole trade of the country, to impoverish the natural subjects, and exhaust the country of its wealth, without making any adequate return for it? The privileges therefore claimed by the Company, and allowed by the government, were originally designed by both, for such a trade only as was carried on by the former, that is in goods brought into the country, or purchased in it for exportation. In effect, it was ever limited to that, nor can it be proved that the duffuck was ever allowed to pass for any other, from the first engagement of this grant, till the death of Serajah Dowla. The Company, in their standing orders before that time, prohibited their servants from meddling with what we have now termed the inland-trade, and named it illicit; nor can any difference of power convey to us a right from former treaties, which we confessedly wanted before. Though since the restoration of the Company's privileges we have by degrees dealt in the inland-trade, yet it was always with a tacit acknowledgement of the invalidity of our duffuck for that trade, having generally paid the government a duty thereon, and where it was attempted without it, it has been constantly the subject of complaints and opposition on the part of the Nabob's officers.

I am well aware of one objection, which I have frequently heard repeated in the course of the debates upon this subject, and which it may be proper in this place to reply to, I mean, that we should

not be too vigorous in calling in question our own privileges, but where the sense of a treaty is not sufficiently clear, interpret it in such a manner, as may tend to our own advantage, leaving it to others to dispute it; and that therefore, as the Phirmaund gives us a general right to trade, duty free, without mentioning any exceptions, we should insist on a free trade, in every thing, without exception. Without examining this principle, I shall only say, that if it be just at all, it can only be so where the points contested for are of real importance; but where they are either trivial in themselves, or have a pernicious tendency, it must be an absurdity to insist upon them.

I must now beg leave for the first time, to distinguish between the interest of the Company, and that of individuals, which I am afraid have been too much confounded in these debates. That the Company will not suffer, by a restriction of the dustuck to the foreign merchandize, is manifest, since, with that restriction, it will answer every purpose for which they want it; besides, the odium which a monopoly so injurious to the natural rights of the country merchants, must unavoidably cast upon the English name, and the perpetual jealousies, which from experience we know it to be attended with, prove that this privilege is in effect highly prejudicial to the real interest, as well as honour of the Company. As they have been pleased to permit us to share with them the benefit of the dustuck, we may surely content ourselves with the enjoyment of that privilege within the same bounds to which they have limited themselves. To attempt to extend it beyond that, for the sake of our own private advantages, and to make this a point of contest with the power in alliance with the Company, is both a violation of justice, and a breach of the duty which we owe to our employers.

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My opinion then upon the three first questions before us, is,

1st, That we can claim no right from the Firmaund (nor of course the subsequent treaties which were but intended as copies of that in the articles regarding our commerce) to an exemption from duties on any but foreign trade, that is, in goods imported, or carried out of the country.

2d, That duties ought to be paid to the Country Government on salt, beetle-nut, and other articles which are produced and sold in the country.

3d, That of course the dustuck ought not to be given for these articles, but that they pass with a rewana, or certificate from the officer of the customs, in the same manner with the goods belonging to other merchants.

The 4th article I deem altogether unnecessary, whether we trade in salt with the Company's dustuck, or as other merchants without one, the dustuck being a sufficient distinction in the first case, and the latter requiring none.

My opinion upon the 5th question, is, that the English Gomastahs in every part of the three provinces, whether in the districts of the Nabob or the Company, shall be subjected to the authority of the magistrate, but with this distinction to be observed between private Gomastahs, and those of the Company, that the former shall be equally accountable to the magistrate for any misdemeanor, with any one of the Nabob's subjects, that shall at any time reside in the territory of the Company, nor enjoy any advantages above other merchants, but such only as the Firmaund gives them, viz. that their goods shall pass duty free wherever they have the protection of the dustuck; the magistrate shall not oppose, but assist them in the recovery of their just debts, nor suffer any one to injure or oppress them. But, as the Company's Gomastahs have a weightier

charge, and are none of them situated at such a distance from the Company's factories, but that complaints against them may be both easily heard, and speedily redressed; it should be only permitted to the magistrate to oppose them in the actual commission of any violence, or the assumption of any rights not belonging to them, but in any disputes with their immediate dependants, such as the weavers, pykars, or delolls in their service, he shall not interfere otherwise than by assisting them in carrying their complaints to the presidency, or the factories to which the Gomastah belongs, for redress. But the Gomastah shall not therefore protect his own dependants from any lawful claims of the government, nor their persons from justice in any criminal causes.

This to me appears the only equitable method for preventing any misbehaviour in our people, or disputes between them and the Nabob's. If the magistrate at any time should abuse his authority, the Nabob should be required, upon proof, to dismiss him from his office; or inflict any other punishment suitable to the degree of the offence. If this justice, so essential to the Nabob's own interest and the tranquillity of the country, be refused, or from the distance of his residence cannot be timely obtained, we have always the means in our power, when such extraordinary occasions may demand it, to vindicate our rights, and call the infringers of them to justice.

From the peculiarity of times, and a natural propensity in the weaker part of mankind to run from one extreme to another, it has unfortunately happened, that the power suddenly placed in the hands of the Nabob's officers, for the protection of his people, has been so extravagantly abused, as to give occasion to a persuasion in many, that no power can with safety be trusted in their hands.—

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As I have formerly lived amongst the country people in a very inferior station, and at a time when we were subject to the most slavish dependance on the Government, I can with the greatest confidence deny the justice of the opinion, and add further, from repeated experience, that if our people, instead of creating themselves into lords, and oppressors of the country, confine themselves to an honest and fair trade, and submit themselves to the lawful authority of the Government, they will be every where courted and respected, and the English name, instead of becoming a reproach, will be universally revered, the country will reap a benefit from our commerce; and the power of the English, instead of being made a bugbear to frighten the poor inhabitants into a submission to injury and oppression, will be regarded by them, as their greatest blessing and protection.

It is as impossible for any state to subsist with a divided power, as with none. Our servants are as likely to make an ill use of their power as the Nabob's are, but are not so easily to be restrained. In whose hands therefore can it be so properly lodged as in those of the Government to whom it belongs? To take from them that right (a right which we should never suffer to be contested in our own districts) will be to introduce oppression, rapine, and anarchy into the country which we are engaged to protect, and whatever temporary advantage individuals may gain from such a scene of troubles, the affairs of the Company must infallibly suffer by it, if not be involved in one common ruin with the country. That this consequence may not appear too forcibly drawn, permit me to add, it has been observed that the wisest and most permanent states have ever left to conquered nations the exercise of their own laws, and by that means insured their subjection. The power which we have acquired in these provinces,

vinces, has reduced them to a condition as nearly resembling a conquest, as it is for our interests to wish it, but if we take so ungenerous, as well as so impolitic an advantage of their weakness, as to put it in the power of every Banyan, who calls himself an English servant, to tyrannize over the inhabitants without controul, this is not only to deprive them of their own laws, but to refuse them even the benefit of any.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

Mr. Cartier gives it as his opinion, that the President's letter to the Nabob was in every respect improper, and naturally tended, from the commissions contained therein, to bring upon the English name a discredit and a real disgrace. The late violences, as well as insolences committed by the natives, are a certain argument of its impropriety, and which, were clearly foreseen, the very instant the said letter was made public. That the hope given them of being constituted judges and arbitrators of all disputes that might happen in the intercourse of our business, gave cause to the many inconveniencies and tyranny that we have lately suffered, and do suffer. The subjecting us to such a controul would have effectually destroyed our influence and reputation in the country, and would unavoidably have led us, from the manifold oppressions we should have felt under by such regulations taking place, to the necessity of taking up arms, for the redress of their grievances, which every member of the colony must have felt by so arbitrary a jurisdiction. As it is, the evil will spread wide, and has acquired such strength, that no other methods, I doubt, but forcible ones, will be able to remove it. He cannot think the members of the Board gave, or intended giving a direct consent to

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the President's entering into a treaty with the Nabob, on points so very interesting to our privileges, nor did they imagine such a step was any ways necessary ; but what he thinks most condemnable, is, that the said regulations, previous to the approbation or disapprobation of the Board, were made known to the Nabob, and the same orders given by him to his different officers, to be carried into execution before such agreement could have the concurrence of the several members of the Council ; he is likewise of opinion that the said regulations, and the said letter to the Nabob, were in no respect agreeable to the tenor and spirit of our Firmaund, and the subsequent treaties entered into with the Nabobs Serajah Dowla, and Meer Jaffier, but would have been the means of confining our privileges into much narrower bounds than our grants and treaties are intended to restrain us in.

1st, On the extent and true meaning of the Firmaund and all subsequent treaties.

Mr. Cartier thinks, that by the privileges invested in us, by our Firmaund, Hufbulhookums, and our late treaties, our trade is under no limitation whatever, either in foreign or inland commodities. That the want formerly of power to assert the immunities of the Firmaund, cannot, as he imagines, be construed to an absolute and entire deprivation of them ; this reason now no longer existing, we ought to assert our privileges to their fullest extent and latitude, nor submit to the capricious conduct and encroaching behaviour of the Country Government.

2d, On the trade in salt and tobacco, he can have no objection to the payment of an equitable duty ; more particularly, as we have hitherto both at the presidency and the factories of Dacca and Luckypoor, submitted to pay on both of these ar-

ticles ; but let that be fixed at a medium of what has been paid at the different settlements, and furthermore to be considered as a concession made the Nabob, and not claimed as a right, paid as a thing which custom has established, and not to be confirmed by any treaty.

3d, If it is allowed that the trade in salt and tobacco, is in every respect agreeable to our Firmaund privileges, he sees no reason why a dustuck should not be granted for those articles as well as for all others ; though, at the same time, as a duty may probably be laid on those two articles, they should be accompanied by the Buxbundar's or the Shashbundar's receipt, to ascertain that full duties have been paid, and that nothing further is to be demanded on any account.

4th, As certificates have been granted indiscriminately to the servants of the Company, as well as to the inhabitants of Calcutta, he thinks the same should be continued to the latter, on their application to the President on producing the Buxbundar's receipt for duties paid ; though at the same time the duty stipulated and agreed upon to be levied on those branches of trade, the property of the Company's servants, should serve as no regulation for what may be demanded from them.

5th, The nature of the Government in every part of Indostan, being in all respects oppressive and venal, and the decision of all causes depending more on the ability of the parties engaged in bribing their judges, than the legality of them, it can scarcely be thought even equitable that the servants and Gomastahs in our employ should on any complaint or misdemeanor be subject to their determination. It is likewise a known truth, that in every dispute concerning property and money matters, a fourth part is appropriated for the service of the Government and officers. This probably might
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not be insisted upon from us, though it's not being so would in all likelihood be rather prejudicial than the contrary, as the other party might be subject to the established custom of the country, which, if so, it must appear to every one what a superior influence would be acquired on that side. But even independant of the custom, and should it not be expected or demanded from either party, yet the integrity of our proposed judges is so little allowed of, that it would be the highest absurdity to expect it, or even to submit to their having the least power or authority over our people: Should this be ever permitted, it will not be presumption to declare that we may then begin to date the commencement of our declining influence in the country, and would most certainly be productive of continual broils, should we have spirit sufficient remaining to resent the injustice and indignities we must in such situation be exposed to.

6th; Though he thinks it improper to allow the Officers of the Government any kind of controul over our Gomastahs, yet he is far from wishing their actions should be in any respect uncontrollable. Let the person injured, if not in our employ, lay his complaint before the magistrate of the district he is in, to be by him forwarded with the complaint to the President, or Chief and Council of the different factories, as may be most near the district which the complaint comes from, when the Gomastah so complained against shall be ordered down to justify himself as to the accusation lodged against him. Should the complaints arise in parts distant from either the Presidency or the factories, he thinks a confidence might be reposed in the gentlemen employed as our agents in those parts, as they are men of character, and their appointments have been approved by the Board, and each depended upon to settle the complaints brought against their
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own Gomastahs. Should this not be approved, he can only suppose the method pointed out as to the determination of those disputes that may happen in the neighbourhood of the different settlements, or by an Aumeen properly authorized to make an enquiry into them. It is necessary we should become our own judges in all disputes in which we may possibly be concerned. Most true it is, it has not the most equitable appearance, but every gentleman must be convinced how highly essential such a privilege is for the supporting our influence, and avoiding the chicanery and perplexities of a Moorish Court. And he can't help thinking, but a power so lodged in our hands is liable to less abuses, and will be exercised with the strictest impartiality, notwithstanding we may in some respect be interested in the decision of the cause.

Mr. Billers's Opinion.

The first part of the President's letter to the Nabob, contains the agreement for our paying a duty of nine per cent. on all articles for inland trade. The Firmaund and subsequent treaties are certainly the only guides which can enable us to form a proper judgment on this subject, and having given the greatest attention to them when read at the Board last Council day, I think they gave us an undoubted right to trade duty free in all commodities whatever, either for foreign or inland trade, upon the consideration of our paying annually the peshcush therein stipulated in lieu thereof. These being my sentiments of the meaning of the Firmaund, &c. it follows of course that I must disapprove of the President's entering into an agreement, which so evidently deprives us of one of the greatest advantages we have gained thereby, and particularly of
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his having done it on the bare supposition, that it would be approved of by the other members of the Board; however, as the Nabob's revenues would suffer, were we to carry on our commerce of every kind, without paying any duties, I think it would be proper that some reasonable consideration should be made him for the privilege of the inland trade, but that he should at the same time be made sensible that he is by no means entitled thereto, and that it is entirely a mark of favour.

With regard to the resolutions the President has laid down for the determination of all disputes which may happen between our Agents and Gomastahs, and the country inhabitants; it is well known that these people cannot confine themselves within the limits of the authority with which they are invested. The many daring insolences and oppressions which have been committed by the Nabob's Officers, ever since his orders for those regulations were first issued, are evident proofs of the truth of this observation, and sufficiently point out the impropriety of them without the use of further argument. Upon the whole, I think the President might be desired to recall this letter, lest by falling into the hands of any of the Nabob's successors, it might hereafter be used by them as a plea for the same purpose for which it was now designed.

I have already declared my opinion of the first query proposed, in giving my sentiments on that part of the President's letter which relates to the nine per cent. duty. With regard to the second and third, I think the Company's dustuck should be always granted equally for the inland, as well as the foreign trade, when it has been settled, whether we shall pay any, and what duty, as it will effectually cut off all subject of dispute, by putting it out of the power of the Officers to make any objections

tions to the passage of the goods, and that none but Company's servants should have the President's passport for the salt, which may have paid the Government's duties at Hughly.

As to any disputes which may happen to our Gomastahs or Agents, and the people of the country, I think the only scheme for the determination of them, will be to oblige the person who may think himself aggrieved, to apply for redress to the nearest factory, whatever distance it may be from the place where the dispute happened, and if he is not contented with their decision, he may appeal to the Governor and Council.

Mr. Batson's Opinion.

Mr. Batson thinks the President's letter to the Nabob detrimental to the interest of the Company, and the nation in general, because by a forced and groundless explanation it invalidates the privileges granted by the King's Firmaund and sundry Hufbulhookums, and confirmed by the treaties with Serajah Dowlah and Meer Jaffer. Such an explanation coming from the chief of the English, may give great advantage to the Nabobs, and other European nations, in any future negotiations which we may happen to have with them. By this letter also the advantage of coining in the mints of Dacca and Patna is given up, and at the same time the Calcutta mint rendered of little or no service, for by our being prohibited from using any authority over the Shroffs, the currency of Rupees coined at Calcutta will be stopt in most parts of the country; and this is actually the case at present at Cossimbuzar and Moorshidabad. He was much surprized to see these advantages, which were so strenuously contended for many years together, given

given up without any publick consideration. He thinks also the said letter tends to destroy the national influence in this country, and to bring us into contempt, because the form of address, and several expressions, are unbecomingly submissive and condescending, but chiefly because it submits the English Agents, not excepting the Company's factories, to the jurisdiction of the Nabob's Officers, which would immediately put a stop to great part of the private trade, and would furnish the Nabob with continual pretences for subjecting the Company to the same oppressions which they underwent before the rupture with Serajah Dowla, whenever he should think himself in a condition to proceed to such lengths; he therefore thinks we should insist on the Nabob's sending back the said original letter.

In answer to question 1st.

He thinks by the Firmaund, Hufbulhookums, and subsequent treaties, the Company, and under them their servants, have a clear right to trade in every article, whether for foreign or inland trade, which right it is our duty to preserve entire and undisputed, and that the arguments used by the gentlemen on the other side of the question, to prove the contrary, do really prove no more than that former Nabobs had the power and means of hindering us from enjoying the King's grant in it's full extent.

In answer to question the 2d.

He thinks we should acquiesce in paying the same duties on salt and tobacco, that have been paid since Meer Jaffier's coming to the Subahship, but that the same should not be agreed to by any publick deed or writing; and here he thinks proper to remark, that the salt trade being formerly farmed by Coja Wazzed for an inconsiderable sum, could be no great advantage to the Nabob's revenue, and by means of the monopoly, he allowed

the makers and dealers at the first hand a very small price, from twenty-five to thirty Rupees per hundred Maunds at the Aurungs. From hence any person acquainted with the country must see that from the English trading in this article, the Nabob has received benefit, not suffered loss; his complaint on this head therefore proceeds not from any real grievance.

In answer to question the 3d and 4th.

He thinks dustucks should be allowed to the Company's servants in future, for such articles, but not to others.

In answer to question the 6th.

He thinks the business may be carried as it has been before without any ill consequences; however, as a regulation concerning disputes is required, he thinks the Officers of the Government may enquire into such matters, and send reports of them to the nearest English factory, or to the Presidency, as they may chuse.

Major Carnac's Opinion.

At the consultation of the 17th January, Major Carnac concurred in opinion with the whole of the Gentlemen then at the Board, on the regulations established by the President and Mr. Hastings; and his reasons for so doing were, first, That he deems highly dishonourable our being thereby subjected to the Moorish jurisdiction, as this is acknowledging a dependency on the Country Government, the deliverance from which he had ever regarded as the greatest happiness resulting from our first revolution, nor can any but iniquitous decisions be expected from courts of such notorious partiality.

Secondly. Major Carnac deems dishonourable, as also extremely prejudicial to our trade, the agreeing to the granting a duty upon all articles of inland

land trade without distinction, none of which were ever before subject to duties since the establishment of Meer Jaffier, except salt and tobacco, and these must have been thought condescension on our part, as our having an universal freedom of trade is so particularly specified, both by our Firmaund and treaties, as not to leave the least room for cavilling.

Major Carnac, thirdly, deems it a dishonourable concession (and the gentlemen at Patna have shewn it will be detrimental to the Company) the yielding up the coinage in the mint of Patna, to which he believes we are intitled from our Firmaund, but exclusive thereof we had a very good claim from having constantly enjoyed that privilege during the time of the preceding Nabob.

The Major, in consequence, thinks the letter from the President to the Nabob, containing the said regulations, should be withdrawn. — This much being premised, answers on the part of Major Carnac, the first and fifth questions.

With respect to the second and third questions, Major Carnac is of opinion, that whatever rights we may have from our Firmaunds, and our different treaties, should be insisted on; and therefore that the Company's dustuck should be granted for all commodities without exception, and that no duties whatever should be paid to the Nabob, but in lieu thereof a duty to be levied upon dustucks for the benefit of the Company. However, should the Board think this would occasion too great a diminution of the Nabob's revenue, he hopes they will not consent to any other duties, but the continuance of those upon salt and tobacco; the former at the Hughly rate, and the other according as has been paid at Dacca; and that in such case it will be clearly explained to the Nabob, that it is a pure indulgence from us, and which we may retract at pleasure.

pleasure. The Company's dustucks to be nevertheless equally given for salt and tobacco as for all other articles of trade.

If it be determined to make a compliment to the Nabob of a duty upon salt, the other Gentlemen of the Board are the best judges how far the privileges of trading therein ought to be extended, and whether it should be confined to the Company's servants or not. Major Carnac begs leave to wave giving any answer to the fourth question, not being sufficiently master of the subject.

That the black people in our employ are guilty of great irregularities, and commit many abuses under the sanction of our authority, has been a frequent subject of complaint, and it certainly behoves us to seek every possible remedy thereto, except such an one as has been proposed, which is worse than the disease. There can be no difficulty at the places which are in the neighbourhood of any of our factories, the Chiefs and Councils whereof should be impowered to enquire into the conduct of the English Gomastahs, and we are not to doubt that the decisions will be fair and equitable. In the places at a distance from our factories, such as Rungpore, Gualpara, &c. there are generally some English gentlemen of character resident, and these, in cases of complaint, should be directed by the Board to take information upon the spot, and to spare no cost or pains to get at the truth, which should be transmitted either to the nearest factory, or to Calcutta; and upon conviction of any Gomastah of misbehaviour, the most exemplary punishment should be inflicted, in order to deter others from the like practices.

Mr. Amyatt's Opinion.

Mr. Vansittart, in his minute of the 1st of February, complains of the harsh and indecent opinion

nion of the Board on the 17th of January, against his treaty entered into with the Nabob, and that his negotiation therein did not merit such treatment from us.

We were unanimous on the regulation being detrimental and dishonourable; which every article contained therein I think clearly denounced. The Government formerly must have understood our Firmaund gave us a full and extensive trade in every thing without distinction, and as far as our gentlemen were in capacity to carry on the inland trade, they practised it for many years. But particular articles being farmed out by the Government to particular persons, our trading therein gave umbrage, and Governor Stackhouse (I think) was obliged to give a muchulka that the English would desist from further dealing in salt, silk, and beetle-nut. This was at a time they could not maintain by force the privilege of the Delly grants, so thro' necessity complied with. An order at this time would have had the same effect, but they obliged the then Governor to invalidate the Firmaund, by giving this muchulka, which shewed they thought our right good, and by compulsion got this paper to over-set our future pretensions, and has been ever since the argument against them, therefore detrimental and dishonourable. Mr. Vansittart's renewing this muchulka, the adding an additional duty to what we have already paid through a condescension, is doubtless detrimental; the subjecting us to the Moorish laws, and which, to our honour be it known, in the worst of times, we never were; but now, not even an appeal to the Nabob or the Council is mentioned: This doubtless is both detrimental and dishonourable. How prejudicial, partial and unjust the nature of their Courts, customs, and laws are, is so well known to you

all, Gentlemen, it is needless for me to take up your time in giving my sentiments in full thereon. The mentioning that our servants, gomastahs, &c. shall not carry on trade by oppressions, &c. are dishonourable terms to be inserted in a publick treaty. Surely the English justice and honour was sufficient for the Government to be satisfied, that we should severely chastise any of them who dared to prostitute our name by any illicit action, without making it an article for them to do it. Many complaints have appeared, but none been proved, and I flatter myself none will of any consequence. The Nabob's orders in circulating Mr. Vansittart's treaty are dishonourable to us, and in a manner an act of hostility, bidding us open defiance.

The foregoing were my reasons for concurring with the rest of the Board on the 17th of January, in censuring the Governor's proceedings; and I am also to remind you, that we thought he had also been guilty of a breach of our privileges, in acting without our consent; and I still think so; for I solemnly declare, I never suspected he could desire such an independent power on so material and national a concern, or imagine the rest of the gentlemen would have been more explicit and peremptory in their letter to him. — Is it consistent with reason any Council should give such powers?

Doubtless Mr. Vansittart will ask what regulations we wanted to have settled with the Nabob, which we hoped from his influence with the Nabob, (for he seems to know no one else) would be such as tend to our advantage, and not to his prejudice; for if trade went freely on, we would readily acquiesce in paying the duties as had been hitherto collected, but the removal of several vexations we had lately laboured under was the point we wanted to see happily effected, and our goods,
when

when certified to be English property, not to meet with any impediment. — I now come to the first question.

The Nabob and Mr. Vansittart seem to think and assert we have not a liberty to an unrestrained trade. We have, Gentlemen, carefully perused all our Firmaunds, treaties, &c. and I think it clearly appears to me we have: Therefore, as the Nabob wants to invalidate those grants, we ought to have them properly explained to him, and insist on our parts to the utmost of the Company's prerogative, and demand the treaty back and destroy it. To the second I am to say, since the Nabob has wanted to impose on us a breach of our liberties, we should not pay any duty on any thing, but support our rights. The Company may want to trade in these articles, when we consider their vast tract of lands and productions thereof, especially salt, on which articles they raise a very large duty themselves.

To the 3d and 4th questions. According to the above plan, dustucks cannot be granted to any but Company's servants, unless it be for such goods produced upon the Company's lands, as paid their duties; but the certificates should, to such as have paid the Nabob's any where; on a proper rewana being shewn to the Governors, or any Chief's satisfaction, that the Nabob's customs have been duly discharged.

To the 5th and 6th questions. The servants and gomastahs of the English should not, on any account, lie under the least constraint of the Government; but I beg leave to defer saying any thing further on this head for the present, (how to regulate the disputes that may happen betwixt them and the Country Government, and indeed among themselves) till such time as I have heard it properly discussed at the Board, where the mutual advantages of

the country and ourselves will be impartially considered and deliberated on.

Major Adams's Opinion.

Major Adams does not think the agreement made with the Nabob, as contained in the Governor's letter to him, calculated to answer the end proposed by it, viz. to settle things on such a footing as may prevent further disputes with the Country Government, of whose justice Mr. Vanfittart seems, in that treaty, to have entertained a much better opinion than their subsequent conduct shews they deserve.

In answer to question 1st.

Major Adams is of opinion, That by the Firmaund and subsequent treaties, and particularly the 2d article of that with Serajah Dowla, the English East India Company are entitled to carry on any kind of trade, duty free, and in any part of the three Provinces of Bahar, Bengal, and Orixia.

To the 2d question.

That the above-mentioned Firmaund and treaties entitle the said Company to carry on their trade free from any duties, but that to prevent as much as possible any disturbances in the country, such duties as have been collected on any species of trade since the last revolution, should be continued.

To the 3d and 4th questions.

Major Adams is of opinion, that as the privileges in the above-mentioned Firmaund, &c. were granted to the English East India Company, they and their representatives here are the properest judges for what and whom duties should be granted; and as he looks upon the above questions to be of a private nature, begs to be excused giving his opinion upon them.

To the 5th question.

Major Adams thinks that the experience we have had of the tyrannical and rapacious disposition of the officers of the Country Government, almost renders the question unnecessary; however, as his opinion is required with the rest of the gentlemen at the Board, his duty to the public obliges him to declare, that he thinks it should by no means be allowed.

To the 6th and last question.

That wherever any considerable trade is carried on (however far distant) a Company's servant should reside, invested with full power to enquire into any disputes, and punish the delinquents; and that where the trade carried on, is not of consequence sufficient to require a Resident, upon any complaint against gomastahs or English factors, the persons complained of should be immediately summoned to the nearest English factory, as well as all the evidences against them; and that the Chief of each factory with his Council, should be empowered to inflict the severest punishment on such gomastahs or factors, if found guilty; and that no expence should be spared to bring offenders to justice; but should the complaint be found to be false or frivolous, the complainant should pay all the costs and damages.

The President's Opinion.

The regulations contained in my letter * to the Nabob of the 26th December, are such as appear to me to be conformable to the true intent and

* The stile of this letter is the stile which I have always used, and the same I understand which was used by my predecessor^s since the troubles. No Persian letter nor Eastern forms of expressions will bear a literal translation. They appear absurd in European languages, although they are natural and customary in Persian.

meaning of the Firmaund and subsequent treaties, considered with the Company's orders relative to the trade of their servants, and particularly the 24th and 29th paragraphs of the letter of the 17th, 1748.

I am aware that the abuses which some of the Nabob's officers have exercised, upon the appearance of the regulations, will be urged as an objection to them; but this is arguing by consequences; and I answer that these or whatever regulations may be proposed, will sometimes be abused by both parties, especially on their first establishment; and the only remedy for this evil is to punish all servants of ours who shall break through rules, and insist on the Nabob's doing the same.

Although some men are so licentious as to break through all laws, it is not a reason why laws should be abolished.

But to proceed to the different articles objected against: It is said that the inland-trade, that is, the trade in salt and other articles produced in one part of the country, and sent to another part of the same country for sale and consumption, shall not be carried on with the Company's dustuck, but shall go with the dustuck of the Country's government, after paying them a duty of 9 per cent. The Firmaund says, that, "Whatever goods and merchandise the Gomastahs of the English Company shall bring into any port or place of the province by sea or land, or carry out, shall be free of duty." For my part, I can understand this no otherwise than that the goods they shall bring in from foreign parts, may be transported to any part of that province by sea or land duty free, and the goods they purchase in any part of the province may in like manner be carried out. This I imagine to be all the Company asked, and it is not to be supposed more was granted. By such a trade the Country

Country reaps the benefit of the goods and money imported ; but all that is gained by us in trafficking from place to place in the Country, in articles of its own produce, is in effect so much lost to the Country.

The subsequent treaties confirm the privilege of the Firmaund, and particularly the second article of the treaty with Seraja-al-Dowla, declares, that “ All goods going to or coming from any “ place, by land or water, with the Company’s “ duffuck, shall be free.” It remains still to be limited by the Firmaund and the Company’s orders, for what occasions the duffuck shall be granted ; and I think that it behoves us greatly to take care they are not granted for any purpose beyond the intention of the Firmaund, and to answer those ends the Company had in view when they put themselves to the expence of applying for it.

With respect to the power of our Gomastahs the Firmaund says, “ That in every place where “ they buy or sell, the officers of the Country Government shall assist them in their lawful demands ; and every merchant, weaver or other “ person, upon whom the English Gomastah shall “ have a just demand, the officers of the Government shall oblige them to pay it, and suffer no “ one to oppress the Gomastahs ; and if any servant “ of the Company’s being in their debt shall run “ away, the officers of the Government shall take “ them up, and deliver them to the Chief of the “ factory.” The Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn in his general Sunnud 1757, confirms all the Firmaund privileges, and adds, “ That the Company may buy “ or sell without employing a banyan or broker, “ and that the officers of the Government shall “ assist them in all their just demands.” — Nothing more can be said to give our Gomastahs power to decide their own causes, or make use of any force

of their own, but they are to apply to the officer of the Government, and obtain redress through their means.

As to the coinage, there is an order granting the Company permission to coin in the king's mint at Carriemabad; and in case it can be done without loss to the king's revenues, three days of the week are to be set apart for the English Company's bullion; but there is no particular indulgence as to the rate of coining; they are to pay the same mint-charges as other merchants; and this is all the Nabob desires, as I mentioned in my letter to Nobit Roy's complaints, of which answer I gave Mr. Ellis a copy. Besides, I think this privilege now unnecessary, as we have a mint of our own, in which we may coin the Rupees of Dacca and Patna, as we do of Murshedabad.

In regard to making tuffals or salt-pans in Sunderbund, I confess my letter to the Nabob does not fully express what I intended. I mean that we ought not to take away the grounds which other merchants have cleared, nor the workmen which they have hired, as appears by my letters to the Chiefs of Chittagong and Luckypoor, which I delivered to the Nabob at the same time.—As to trading by our Gomastahs with the mountaineers, who come with cotton to Rungamatty, if it has been a custom for that article to be farmed out by the Country Government, and it is from that only the revenue proceeds, I think we have no right to overrule that custom. Any innovations to the prejudice of the revenues of the Country Government, and the exclusion of the Country merchants from that share of the trade which they have long enjoyed, I think should be avoided, as such proceedings must render us universally the object of jealousy and ill-will.

To the proposed questions I therefore say,

1st,

1st, That I think we have not a right by Firmaund and subsequent treaties to carry on the Inland-trade, or the trade from place to place in the Country in commodities produced in the Country, but that we have a right to carry on all other trade custom free.

2d, That I think duties ought to be paid to the Country Government on salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, and all other articles of Inland-trade upon those conditions, so that it may not hereafter be disputed. I mean that duties should be paid to the Country Government upon articles produced in the Country, and sent from place to place in the Country for consumption there, but when sent to Calcutta for consumption or exportation, they shall go with the Company's dustuck, and pay no duties to the Country Government. In such case the Country has its advantage in the vent given to their manufactures or produced by the trade of this settlement, and the Company receive the customs ; but on the Inland-trade we pay no duties at all, unless we pay to the Country Government, and yet that trade will afford duties better than any other.

3d and 4th, I think the Company's dustuck should not be granted for any articles of Inland-trade, but that certificates should be granted to accompany the dustuck of the Country Government ; and that such certificates should be granted equally to Company's servants, and any other licensed English merchants who have first duly paid the Government duties, and got their dustucks.

5th and 6th, I think the English Gomastahs should not be under the controul of the officers of the Country Government, at those aurungs which are under the charge of the subordinate factories, but in case of any complaint against them, the officers of the Country Government shall apply to the Chief of the factory for redress, and in case the Gomastah
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has a dispute with, or demand upon any of the Country people (not the weavers or other immediate servants of the Company) he shall apply to the officers of the Government for redress, and if the officers of the Government neglect or refuse to grant it, the Gomastah shall then make his complaint to the Chief of the factory, who shall require, and if necessary, exact an immediate compliance, giving a full account of the matter to the Board.

But at those Aurungs which are not under the management of any of the Company's factories, but only some particulars have their Agents or Gomastahs, there I think such an authority cannot be trusted in their hands, nor indeed is it possible, as there may be several different Gomastahs in one place, who have all an equal right to authority: I think they should apply to the Country Government for redress on all occasions, and if the officers of the Government do not grant them the satisfaction the matter requires, the Gomastah may then make his complaint to his principal, and he to the Board, who will insist on the necessary reparation for all unreasonable losses. I do not however mean that in case of complaint against an English Gomastah, at such place the Officer of the Country Government shall have authority to seize the Gomastah, stop his goods, or interrupt his business, but he shall give him notice of the complaint, and recommend to him to get it settled, and in case the Gomastah refuses or neglects to give such satisfaction as shall appear to the Government's Officer to be reasonable, he may then transmit the complaint to the Governor of Calcutta. I see nothing in the Firmaund or subsequent treaties, which forbids the Government's Officers from doing themselves justice on such occasions; but yet the nature of the people
is

is such, that it would be dangerous to admit it, of which their present violent proceedings are a sufficient proof.

It was resolved that we had a right to trade in salt, beetle-nut, and every other article of Inland-trade, duty free, and with the Company's dustuck equally with the foreign trade. Yet it seems as if the Council themselves saw at the very time the injustice of their proceeding, by their admitting that a something should be paid to the Nabob in conformity to the usual practice, not that the Nabob had any right to demand it, but merely as an indulgence, which they were willing to allow him.

The following are the proceedings relative to the settling this point.

M. 4. — *Extract of Consultation of the 1st March*
1763.

As it is the opinion of the majority of the Board, that a consideration ought to be paid to the Nabob on certain articles of the Inland-trade, the members from the subordinates are asked what duties they have hitherto paid, and on what articles.

Mr. Cartier says that at Dacca they usually paid

On salt S ^a . R ^s .	3 : 8 per 100 Maunds,
On tobacco - -	0 : 4 per Maund.

Mr. Billers says that at Luckypoor they usually paid

On salt DMR ^s .	9 : 14 3 per 100 Maunds,
On tobacco -	: 4 per Maund.

Mr. Marriot says that at Chittagong and its districts nothing has been paid.

Cossimbuzar, Patna, and Malda, nothing.

From Calcutta nothing, except on salt, about the rate of 4½ Sicca Rupees per 100 Maunds paid at Hugly.

That

That the trade in the article of tobacco has been carried on from the last mentioned places with a dustuck.

These informations being had, the following question is now put, to be answered to-morrow.

How much shall in future be paid on salt or other articles of Inland-trade, which are carried on from one place in the Country to another for sale and consumption?

Mr. Hay desires that the following questions may likewise be put.

Whether the salt and other produce of the Company's lands are to pay duties to the Country Government or not?

And Mr. Watts the following:

Whether we have not a right to coin bullion in the mints of Patna, and Dacca, and on what terms?

The next day (the 2d March) the opinions were collected as follows.

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

The majority of the Board yesterday were of opinion that by our Firmaund, Hufbulhookums, and subsequent treaties, we had a right to trade in any article produced or brought in the Indostan empire, and that in pursuance of the above privileges no duties ought to be paid, and that dustucks ought to be granted with any articles, either salt, beetle-nut, tobacco or any other; but as former Nabobs had collected duties on some articles (though contrary to the privileges granted us) they were willing some consideration should be made to the Nabob. For my own part, I am still of the same opinion that no duties should be paid on any articles, and I shall always esteem it as an opening left for the present Nabob to make a further infringement on

on our privileges when opportunity may offer. Nor do I see any reason for this indulgence to be given to a man who has spared no pains to degrade the name of the English, taken every opportunity to insult our flag, has almost totally stopt our business for near six months past, and insulted this Board by attempting to enforce a treaty executed by the Governor only, and that by threats and arms. His letter to Mahomed Aly, Nabob at Dacca, is a sufficient proof of the first, and Mahomed Aly's letter to the Sicdar of Sundeeep could not be usual but by his order.

However as the majority of the Board are for making some allowance, I think two and a half per cent. on the rewana on salt only is full sufficient; but as tobacco has only paid duties in some parts, and dustucks been granted with it from others, I think that we ought not to pay any duties on it.

The salt produced on the Company's lands ought not to pay duties.

The right to coin bullion in the mints of this empire, is fully confirmed by an express Hufbulhookum, N^o. 21. That $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. is what Juggutseat paid to the Government, and much about what the Dutch pay; therefore I think we ought to have the privilege of coining all the Company's monies in any of the mints of the three Provinces, at $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. which is more than sufficient to defray the charges of coinage.

Mr. Marriott's Opinion.

Mr. Marriott is of opinion that in consequence of the Government's collecting a duty on salt, and which we have for the most part acquiesced in, a duty should be paid the government of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the Rewana price, as it appears all the Rewanas
run

run at that rate, but as he looks upon it as an infringement of the Firmaund privilege, the Nabob ought to be informed it is a concession on our parts.

That this duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. should be paid at one place, and no other demands made on any occasion, or boats stopped with salt on any pretence, having the Droga's receipt on the back of the Company's dustuck. That the salt produced on the Company's lands should also pay duty as it has hitherto done, there having been no distinction made.

That tobacco and beetle-nut ought not to pay duties, as dustucks for these articles have generally been given, and no duties paid at the place they were produced, except at Dacca and Luckypoor, on the sale of the former, which appears to have been an arbitrary thing, as the duty on that article ought certainly to have been collected at every place.

That in regard to exchange of money, as we have undoubted right to coin Siccas from our Firmaund and Sunnuds, we ought to insist on what we coin should pass; but to obviate any loss that might rise by Batta on Siccas of a different mint at another place, we should get stamps of the several mints where we may have occasion to send money, and coin with those stamps accordingly.

Mr. Hay's Opinion.

I have already given my opinion, that no duties should be paid, and as I can conceive no reason for paying any, but to shew that we will not press our rights harder on the present Nabob than we did on the last, I therefore think if any duty is paid, that it should be the same as in Meer Jaffier's time.

I think the Company and their servants who carry out the produce of the Company's lands with a dustuck should pay no duty.

I think

I think by the grants from Delly that we have a right to coin and recoin money in the Nabob's mints, and that it should be done at the rates the Company receive from persons that coin and recoin in their mints, which is about the same that had hitherto been paid at Patna.

Mr. Johnstone's Opinion.

That we have a right to a free trade without paying duties of any kind wherever our dustuck is granted, and that it should be granted for all articles of gruff, &c. for the inland traffick and consumption in the country, as well as for goods imported and exported, I expressed in my minute of yesterday. But as the majority were for acquiescing to continue to the Nabob, as a point of favour, not of right, a certain allowance on salt, though I dissent from all such allowances in any manner as it is establishing by custom, though not by right, a duty upon an article that makes so very considerable a part of the produce and revenues of the Company's lands, and which they may hereafter probably disapprove. Yet as the question now stands, that something should be continued to be paid to the Nabob, and it is demanded what that should be; two and a half per cent in the Rewana price, I think the most that should be paid.

The article of tobacco having hitherto been carried on with the Company's dustuck towards Cossimbuzar, Malda, and Patna, from Calcutta, and no Rewana ever taken out for it at Dacca and Luckypoor, where only it has ever been paid; I look on our right to grant dustucks for this article as fully established as on any other gruff-article for which the Company now grants their dustuck. This I think may be done with as much right in virtue of our Firmaund and treaties, as for any article of

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consumption to be imported to Calcutta, which the President proposes should be carried on without duties, and on which, before the revolution, we paid as well as on any other articles.

As the Calcutta siccas cannot pass at Dacca and Patna without a discount, contrary to the treaty for establishing our mint and the currency of the Calcutta siccas through the three Provinces without batta, and the Nabob, Meer Jaffier, in this consideration, granted perwanas for coining the sum necessary for the business of the factories at Patna and Dacca, I think we have a just claim to coin as formerly as much in those mints at $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, which I think better than stamping siccas of those places in our mints, as it appears by the example of our Moosshedabad siccas, that the Shroffs will always elude this method, and not receive those Rupees but at a discount.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

Mr. Hastings is of opinion, in answer to question the first, that nine per cent. on the prime cost of each article should be paid to the Government, which he judges to be pretty nearly the same with the duty paid by other merchants.

To question the 2d. That every article of inland trade, being produced, though not in equal abundance, upon the Company's lands, to except them from the duty levied upon the same articles produced in other parts, would be a source of continual frauds and disputes with the Government, and that therefore all such goods should be taxed, or none.

To question 3d. That we have no such right of coining in the Nabob's mints, nor the least pretence to claim it, that he knows of.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

Mr. Cartier thinks that no duty should be paid on any article of our trade but salt, as he finds tobacco has paid no duties in any part of the country but Dacca and Luckypoor, and has ever been considered by the gentlemen in Calcutta, who have traded in it, as free from any; and dustucks procured from the Presidency, Cossimbuzar, Patna, and Malda, circulating the same.

That we should likewise insist upon the privileges of coining in the several mints of the provinces, unless we can enforce the currency of the different species of Rupees, agreeable to the fixed batta of the place they may be sent to, which will render any application on this head unnecessary.

That the salt produced in the Company's lands should be subject to the same duty as what may be produced in other parts of the country.

Mr. Billers's Opinion.

As it is agreed by the Board to pay a duty on certain articles of inland trade, I give it as my opinion, that salt is the only article which ought to pay custom to the Country Government, that $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the Rewana price should be the stipulated rate, and that the produces on the Company's lands should pay the same.

I think we have a right to recoin the Company's money either at Patna or Dacca, on paying $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, being the usual custom paid hitherto at Patna.

Mr. Batson's Opinion.

Mr. Batson, in answer to the several questions proposed in consultation, the 22d Feb. gave his opinion, that we should acquiesce in paying the same duties

on salt and tobacco that have been paid since Meer Jaffier's coming to the Subahship, but that the same should not be agreed to by any publick deed or writing. The President yesterday proposed the same question to be answered again by *yes*, or *no*, without explanation or restriction. Mr. Batson therefore thinks proper to explain himself further on this head. He thinks we should continue tacitly to acquiesce in paying such duties on salt and tobacco, and at such places only, as we did in Meer Jaffier's time; that the Nabob may not complain of our using him worse in any respect than we did Meer Jaffier, but that we should not even make any publick declaration thereof, much less agree to it by any publick deed. He further thinks no new treaty should be entered into with the Nabob on this head, but that we should insist on his adhering strictly to those made with Serauge o Dowla and Meer Jaffier.

That he does not see any reason for making a distinction in regard to goods produced in the Company's lands, and thinks we have a right to coin in the mints of Patna and Dacca, and that it should be done at the same rate as it was in Meer Jaffier's time.

Major Carnac's Opinion.

Major Carnac has given it as his opinion, that no duties whatever should be given to the Nabob; however, a majority of the Board having determined that a consideration should be paid for certain articles of trade, Major Carnac thinks it should only be upon such articles for which the Nabob can plead our constant practice, and this cannot be done of any other commodity save salt, the most equitable statement for which seems to be to pay the sums specified in the Rewana, viz. $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Major

Major Carnac hopes whatever allowance may be agreed on, the Board will be particularly careful to have it explained to the Nabob, that it is matter of favour, not of right.

Mr. Amyatt's Opinion.

The general opinion of the Board being, we had an undoubted right to trade free from any duty whatever, but that the present Nabob should enjoy a revenue equal with his predecessors; they agreed to pay him a consideration for such inland trade, to which Mr. Amyatt readily concurs, and thinks the consideration now to be allowed is intended to amount to as much as was before, and is now paid, so that all the inland trade in general should be taxed to pay this charge, as every article can equally bear it, and a duty of 2 per cent. should be levied on all articles purchased in any part of the country, to be sent and sold in another part; but to prevent any impediments in carrying on our business, or vexations, from designed delays in recovering this duty by the Government's people, he would propose that all goods pass with the Company's dustuck, which dustuck being carried to the Buxbunder, they are immediately to receive there 2 per cent. and give a receipt for the amount upon the back of the dustuck, and then those goods are free to pass and be sold any where.

Mr. Amyatt is of opinion, since an allowance upon salt is agreed on, it should be equally granted upon that which is made in our own Pergunnahs.

With respect to the mint at Patna and Dacca, he sees no occasion for the unlimited use thereof, and the sum we have demanded to be yearly coined there being sufficient for all reasonable purposes,

poses, he is of opinion that that, and no more, should be insisted on.

Major Adam's Opinion.

Major Adams esteems his opinion sufficiently expressed in his minute of yesterday, in answer to the 2d question proposed the 19th, namely, that duties which have hitherto been paid should continue to be so, to prevent disturbances and embroiling our affairs with the Country Government.

The President's Opinion.

As I am of opinion the inland trade from place to place in the country, in articles of the produce of the country, is not comprehended within the privileges of the Firmaund, and consequently that we have no right to insist or expect to carry it on custom free, so I think, if we find it for our advantage to carry it on, we must be satisfied with the same terms as other merchants, and pay established King's duties at every place, unless we can agree with the Nabob for an equivalent.

By all the informations I could get on this subject, I find that from this place to Patna, the King's duties are collected on salt at six different places, viz. Houghly, Moorshedabad or Jelinghy, Rajamaut, Carigola, Bauglepoor, and finally the Duany duty upon the salts at Patna. The amount of these, reckoned at the lowest of the several informations I took, was more than 25 Rupees per 100 Maunds, or if we reckon them at what is said to be the regular King's duties at every place where duties are collected, that is $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. the amount will be 15 per cent.

On tobacco, it appears that both at Dacca and Luckypoor they have paid 4 Annaes per Maund, which

which reckoning the cost 2 Rupees per Maund, will turn out about 12 per cent.

On beetle-nut it appears they have hitherto paid no duties, but for my part I can conceive no other distinction between what ought to pay duties to the Country Government and what not, but this of *foreign trade*, that is, goods imported and goods bought for exportation; and *inland trade*, in articles of the produce of the country, from place to place in the country; the first of which being a Firmaund privilege, it goes from place to place in the country without paying any duties; and, “with respect to the latter,” I think the Government has as much right to their custom from us on such trade as from other merchants.

Upon the whole, I think nine per cent. on the prime cost of the goods, a very easy and advantageous accommodation for the English dealers in this trade; and as the Nabob has consented to accept that as an equivalent for all demands throughout the three Provinces, I am of opinion we should readily agree to it, and obtain a confirmed right to what has hitherto been always disputed; and I must add, that I think it is a tax which the trade will well bear, for reckoning salt at 80 Rupees per 100 Maunds, which is a high price for the prime cost, we shall pay only $7\frac{1}{2}$ per 100 Maunds.

With respect to the produce of the Company's lands, I think the merchants who deal in that should pay customs equally with others, as they have always hitherto done to *the Country Government* upon what has been carried up the country, *and to the Company themselves*, upon what has been imported at Calcutta.

As to our rights by former grants to coin in the King's mints, it may be doubted whether to hold a mint ourselves does not supersede the former; but supposing it does not, and that we have yet a right to

coin in the King's mints, it is not with any particular indulgence as to the rate of coinage, but we must pay the same mint charges as other merchants.

It was no easy matter to determine who were the majority, and what was their opinion, at length it was made out thus :

Extract of Consultation of the 1st of March.

The opinions having been all read at the Board, the sums of the answers to the several questions, stand as follows :

To the 1st, in the affirmative.	-	Ten voices.
In the negative with respect to the inland trade.	} -	Two.
To the 2d, in the affirmative.	-	Seven.
In the negative.	- - -	Two.
To the 3d, in the affirmative.	-	Nine.
In the negative.	- - -	Two.

Major Adams silent.

The 4th question being altered by the determination of the 2d, stands thus.

As it is determined that duties shall be allowed on certain articles, whether certificates should be granted to those who pay that duty, but are no Company's servants? And it being accordingly put, the sum of the answers stands as follows :

In the affirmative, Messrs. Hay, Cartier, Amyatt, and the Pre- sident.	} -	Four voices.
In the negative, Messrs. Watts, Marriot, Johnstone, Hastings, Billers and Batson.	} -	Six.

Major Carnac and Adams silent.

To the 5th and 6th question, the opinion of all the Board, excepting Mr. Hastings, imports, that
the

the English Gomastahs shall not be under any actual controul of the Officers of the Country Government, but be restrained by such regulations as may be laid down.

Extract of Consultation of the 2d of March.

It appears from the above opinions, that the majority of the Board are agreed that $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the Rewana price shall be the established custom on salt, and the article of salt only shall pay a custom to the Country Government. Resolved, that the determination do form a part of the instructions to the gentlemen who shall be sent to make known the matter to the Nabob, and that in the mean time trade do go on in the same channel as formerly.

Mr. Hastings, at the consultation of the 2d of March, desired leave to say something further in explanation of that article of his opinion of the 1st of March, which related to the setting proper bounds of authority between the Government's Officers and the English Gomastahs.—This additional minute was as follows :

Mr. Hastings's Minute of the 2d of March.

In the consultation of yesterday, it having been entered as the unanimous opinion of the Board, with the single exception of myself, that the English Gomastahs should be subject to no controul from the Government, I must beg leave to subjoin another argument to what I have already said upon the subject, in favour of this singularity of sentiment.

In all affairs relating to our connections with the Country Government, one object we would ever keep in view, as of the highest importance to the
G 4. future

future welfare of the Company. I mean the duration of their acquisitions and influence in this country. Whatever may serve to perpetuate and fix these advantages, though attended with a present inconvenience, should be invariably pursued; and whatever present or temporary conveniences have a tendency to destroy them, or to change our connections, should be for the same reason rejected.

An union between two powers, which stand in need of each others assistance, and whose interests agree, may endure for ages; but where that mutual dependence is wanting, and their interests are perpetually clashing, the greatest efforts of human wisdom will scarcely be able to unite them on any solid foundation. Such unfortunately is our situation in our alliance with the Nabob. His power, if properly supported, and a mutual confidence were established between us, would indeed afford us the greatest benefit and security. But the chief source of discord between us arises from the intricacy of our connections with him. Our lands (the least subject of contention, because divided by known and fixed boundaries) lie close to, and even in the midst of his; our trade is circulated through every part of his country, and our agents and dependents are intimately blended with his subjects, without any bounds to mark out the extent of his authority, and our own privileges.

It is now proposed to fix such a limitation, by absolving every person employed in our service from the jurisdiction of the Government. This, it is true, will prevent their suffering any oppression; but it gives them a full licence of oppressing others, since whatever crimes they may commit, the magistrate must patiently look on, nor dare even to defend the lives or properties of the subjects committed to his care, without a violation of our rights and privileges.

leges. Such is the expedient proposed for the security of our trade, and for preserving the tranquillity of the country.

Such a system of government cannot fail to create in the minds of the wretched inhabitants an abhorrence of the English name and authority; and how would it be possible for the Nabob, whilst he hears the cries of his people, which he cannot redress, not to wish to free himself from an alliance which subjects him to such indignities.

I forbear at present to take notice of the methods which are to be employed as checks of such a licentiousness, but shall briefly observe, that if the chiefs of the factories are to be made the judges in all causes in which their Gomastahs are concerned, whatever their integrity may be, or how unbiassed soever their judgments, yet such is the infatuation of mankind, (not to speak of Bengalees alone) that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, they will rather submit to oppression than forsake their houses, and travel with a croud of witnesses to the nearest factory in quest of justice, when they believe their judge to be interested in the suit against them, as there will be few instances in which it will not be in the power of the Gomastah to connect his own frauds and rogueries with the interest of his employer, to make it hazardous to chastise him.

M 4. — *Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to Mahomed Aly.*

BY a letter from the Governor I understand, that “with regard to the merchandize of the
“country, viz. tobacco, salt, beetle-nut, and dried
“fish, which at different places are purchased and
“sold, though they want to pay 9 per cent, yet
“you

“ you are desirous of stopping the business, and
 “ will not pay any regard to it, but endeavour to
 “ interrupt the trade. That you likewise demand
 “ duties on the Company’s cloth, which has the
 “ Company’s dustuck, and never was known to
 “ pay any duties. That Coja Askafuc, through
 “ the means of Coja Warris, was appointed to
 “ transact the Governor’s private business at Dacca,
 “ and had, agreeably to the Company’s dustuck,
 “ provided thirty bales of cloth, twenty-eight of
 “ which he sent before, and afterwards the two
 “ others; but you intercepted them, and demand-
 “ ed duties thereon, and without reason demanded
 “ duties on clothes, and on the Company’s pur-
 “ chases, that before never paid any.”

The Governor and myself have agreed, that on
 the Company’s exports and imports, having a du-
 stuck, no duties shall be demanded by any one;
 and whatever goods are purchased and sold within
 this country, being the produce of the country
 shall pay nine per cent. at the place they are
 bought. A copy of the agreement I before sent to
 you, but it is amazing you will not observe the
 contents, but interrupt the Company’s goods. Now
 I strictly order you to examine well the agreement,
 and act according to it. You are not to make any
 demand on goods at any of the Company’s places
 of trade, having the Company’s dustucks; but on
 whatever goods are purchased, being the produce
 of the country, you are to take 9 per cent. at the
 place where they are purchased, and never in any
 respect deviate from the agreement. This strictly
 observe.

P. S. “ The Governor writes that you impede
 “ the Gomastah for his private business.” There
 is no mention of private or publick in the agree-
 ment; yet as he is my true friend, I now write,
 that if the said Gomastah has the Company’s or

the Governor's dustuck, you are not to impede him.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor to the Nabob.

TH E Chief of Dacca sent me a copy of a letter wrote by you to Mahomed Aly Bêg, in which he is strictly charged, “ To take custom according to my agreement, and (although there is no distinction of persons mentioned in the agreement, yet as I have a proper friendship for you) not to interrupt the Gomastahs employed in my trade, who shall be provided with my dustuck or the Company’s.” The regulations contained in that letter or agreement of mine, which I wrote in answer to your perwâna, in order to put an end to the disputes between your people, and the English Gomastahs, cannot now take place, because that through too injurious a behaviour of Mahomed Aly Bêg, and Syed Jelaul Bocâry, and the other Officers of the Sircar, greater disturbances have arisen than ever. This I have already acquainted you of. You order Mahomed Aly not to interrupt any trade, which shall be provided with my dustuck or the Company’s. All the dustucks granted either for my goods or other gentlemens’, are the Company’s, and the same which have ever been established. I represented to you that no interruption must be given to the trade of the English, and did not speak of my own in particular, because my business and other Gentlemens’ is on the same footing, and the distinction you make in my favour can only gain me an ill name.

M. 4. a. — *Extract of Consultation of the 5th March*
1763.

Taking now into consideration the necessary regulations for restraining our Agents and Gomastahs from interfering with any affairs of the Country Government, injuring the people, or being injured by them, and for deciding disputes that may arise between them ;

It is agreed 1st, That all these Aurungs which are adjacent to, or under the management of the subordinate factories, the Gomastahs, in case of being injured by any of the Officers of the Government or their dependants, shall first make their application for redress in writing to the Officer of the Government residing on the spot, from whom, if he does not receive immediate satisfaction, he shall send his complaint to the Chief of the nearest factory, who shall be empowered to take cognizance of the same, and demand or exact, if necessary, the satisfaction which the case may require ; but that it is to be understood in respect of weavers, pykars, and all others who receive advances of money for goods to be provided, or are indebted for goods bought, the Gomastahs shall retain their power as usual to call such weavers, &c. to account.

That on the other hand, where the Government's people shall have reason to complain of the English Gomastahs or Agents, they shall give the said Agent or Gomastah notice of the complaint in writing, requiring and recommending to him to settle it in an amicable and equitable manner ; and in case the Agent or Gomastah refuses or neglects to settle it in such manner as shall appear reasonable to the Government's Officers, he shall then transmit an account of it to the Chief of the nearest English factory, and deliver a copy of the said account to the Gomastah. And the Chief of the factory is hereby

hereby required to examine strictly into the affair, and decide it according to justice, giving a copy of his determination to the officer of the government, who made the complaint. That the gentlemen of the subordinates shall keep a register of such complaints, with the decisions past on them; a copy whereof shall be forwarded monthly to the Presidency.

2d, With respect to the distant places where trade is carried on, such as, Rungpoor, Purnea, Gualparah, and Rungamatty; there is at present no Resident on the part of the Company; but at Rungpoor a provision of silk is made by a Gomastah from Cossimbuzar factory: Which provision, it is hoped, may be increased and improved by the care of a covenanted servant. At the same time, the situation of the place is such, as will be convenient for examining the complaints, and deciding the disputes which may arise in most of those places.

Agreed therefore, that the addition of a senior servant be made to the Council at Cossimbuzar, and that he be appointed Resident at Rungpoor.

That the orders forbidding our servants or dependants from holding lands, gunges, rents or employments of any kind, under the Country Government, shall be again repeated.

That such however as have inherited taalucs from purchase or other good right, shall not be obliged to give them up, but hold them as other taalucdars in the Country; being informed, once for all, that in respect to such rents held from the Government, they are not to avail themselves of our protection, to invest them with any particular privileges.

That such complaints as have already been made and transmitted to the several subordinates, shall be enquired into, and decided conformably to the above regulation,

regulation, and that such as have not yet, shall now be forwarded to the proper subordinates for that purpose.

This regulation might answer very well, if all the Chiefs and Residents of the English were disinterested men, would receive complaints against their own Gomastahs with temper, and decide them with justice and equity, even if their own profits were to be lessened by it.—But a succession of such men is not to be expected in any service; and there is besides another difficulty, proceeding from the distance of the places, where some of these Gomastahs are employed, from any of the Company's factories, so that in many cases it would be impossible to get at the truth; and it is easy to conceive the disorder which must take place in any community, where there exists no power of determining on the spot the disputes which may arise.

N. 4.—*The Nabob's Letter of the 22d February.*

WHEN you came here an agreement was made between us, which I imagined all the Gentlemen would agree to, but it is amazing that not a single person has approved of it. Notwithstanding all you have expressly described to the Chiefs of the Patna and Dacca factories, they do not pay any regard to it, but return for answer: “We do not approve of the Governor's proceedings; when the Gentlemen of the Council write to us, we will immediately follow their directions.”

Since the commencement of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn's management to the present time, I have not known any one but yourself. Now the Gentlemen of all the factories do not regard your directions, but require the orders of the Council, and

and they ruin the affairs of the Province of Bengal, the Zemindaries, the Merchandize, the Ryots, &c. for what reason I cannot conceive. I neither have nor shall negotiate with any person but yourself; and therefore I plainly write, that, if you intend to regard the agreement made between us, you should act in such a manner, that the Gentlemen may not make their objections to it; if not, advise me of it. I understand that a number of the Gentlemen are inclined to establish another Subadar. This appears to me in an easy light. Let them establish whom they please, it is of no consequence to me. I do not regard matters of so small importance. God made the world, and every thing is ruled by him. I beg you will speedily write me an answer to this letter.

Herewith I send you copies of a letter from Mr. Ellis to Rajah Nobit Roy, and one from Jeffarut Cawn to me.—I gave you lands to the amount of fifty Lacks of Rupees, for the maintenance of troops to destroy my enemies, but it is amazing that a number of Gentlemen have on the contrary collected troops against me in order to ruin my country. It is evident to every one that the Europeans are to be confided in; but to see all this surprized me much.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.

Dated 26 February 1763.

YOUR favour is arrived, and has given me much satisfaction. You write that, “At this time you are informed by a letter from the Chief of the Patna factory, that as the Company’s salt-petre was coming from about Gauzypoor, laden
“ on

“ on bullocks, the Aumil, at a place called Man-
 “ jee, took off the salt-petre from the bullocks, and
 “ drove away the bullocks, and the salt-petre is
 “ lying at the foresaid place ; also, that one boat of
 “ the Company’s laden with salt-petre, the officer
 “ at a place called Seefan has seized, unladen the
 “ salt-petre, nor will let it pass ; again, that four
 “ boats laden with beetle-nut, which were proceed-
 “ ing in the way, pursuant to a duffuck from the
 “ Chief of the Dacca factory, the Fougedar of Raja-
 “ mohul has detained, wanting to collect a duty.
 “ If I have any regard to remove all suspicions from
 “ your breast, I must punish my officers one and
 “ all. Agreeable to the letter which you have written
 “ and given to me, the affairs of my Government,
 “ and the Company’s trade, will go on in a course
 “ less interrupted than heretofore, and no single
 “ article of goods that has the Company’s duffuck
 “ with it shall be impeded, nor shall there be in
 “ any place the least obstacle to your buying and
 “ selling the Country commodities ; but upon salt,
 “ tobacco, beetle-nut, and dried fish, I am to take
 “ 9 per cent. upon the cost, and give my own
 “ duffuck : the Officers of my Government feign
 “ orders of themselves, and report abroad that the
 “ English Gomastahs are not to be allowed in the
 “ Country, nor should any one buy or sell, or do
 “ any manner of business with them. In this case
 “ the agreement concluded between you and me,
 “ is totally broken, and there will be another
 “ treaty made, in which it will be particularly ex-
 “ pressed how my Officers are to act, and how the
 “ English Gomastahs : and since letters from me
 “ to you, and you to me, with their answers, are
 “ not less than a month in coming, and you cannot
 “ allow that the Company’s business and that of
 “ the English gentlemen should remain in sus-
 “ pence for my order, therefore I must write to
 “ Mahomed

“ Mahomed Aly Bêg at Dacca, that at this time
“ the making ready of a new treaty article by ar-
“ ticle, under the seals and signs manual of both
“ parties being in view, until it is made ready and
“ sent to them, they must cause the business of
“ the Company and Gentlemen to go on in the
“ manner it formerly was conducted ; if my Of-
“ ficers in the Province act contrary thereto, you
“ will send the Company's men, and make your
“ business go on by all means that may be.”

Sir, Although with respect to the cattle for carrying your petre, I know there has been no obstruction at all, yet my letter has been sent every where in order to examine into the affair of the bullocks for carrying the petre, and also the boats. Hereafter I will write you the particulars, and send them

And with regard to the boats laden with beetle-nut, which you write, Cootub Alum demands duties on ; Sir, before the arrival of your friendly letter, Cootub Alum had represented in an Arzee to me, that there were some boats, all of which you had released before his face, except four boats which remained, and which, because of their not answering examination, you left in charge with him, and proceeded on your way. Herewith I inclose the Arzee for your perusal.

Since you were pleased to observe in the agreement before alluded to, that my dustuck was to be along with the purchase and sale of beetle-nut, and other articles of inland-trade, beyond all doubt Cootub Alum, without being shewed my dustuck, would not let the boats pass ; in which case my Officer does not appear to have committed any fault. You are to be the judge in this affair.

What you write of the uproar of my Officers ; it appears from thence that the agreement made between us, the Council has not assented to. To be sure whatever your Gomastahs write is all exactly

just and proper, and my people tell nothing but lies and bare-faced falsities. I must have all losses in your trade made good to you ; but who will indemnify me for the loss of revenues justly due to my Government ? I must cut off my Officer's heads, but your Gomastahs, who are guilty of oppression, you highly extol. You must know very well, Sir, that I never had in view such a treaty ; it was merely to preserve your pleasure that I assented to it. Now that the Council do not agree to it, and want to have another treaty written, is an imposition.

Three demands which I formerly put to you, I now again repeat. The first is, From the beginning until now the Nazim of Bengal corresponded with the Governor of Calcutta, just as I have been acquainted with you my friend, and are now acquainted with you, not having a single word of correspondence with the rest of the Board.

The second is, I formerly represented to you that the Company's trade has been fixed time immemorial. At present, besides the Company's trade, the Gomastahs of the English Gentlemen have set up the trade of salt, tobacco, dried fish, timbers, &c. and purchase from the country people with force and extortion, and are continually contriving unjust disputes, and wrangling with my Officers, so that the poor, the inhabitants, merchants, and manufacturers of my Country are oppressed, and both you and myself are troubled with unjust vexations. Now I say also, that your Gomastahs are to trade as is customary in merchandizes imported and exported, which has been the practice in this Country, and are to refrain from those articles of trade which perplex the revenues due to my Government, and are a cause of disputes, and the ruin of the inhabitants and poor people.

The third is, Whether your will is, at all events, to commit the expences of the army and management

ment of the Country and his Majesty's revenues to me, and your Gomastahs are to carry on these branches of trade, which were never practised in the Country, and my Country is to be oppressed by the partiality and indulgence, under pretence of trade, and the Officers of my Government are to have no concern in the affairs of the administration, nor be allowed to say a word?

If this be the case, it is out of my power to carry on the business of this Subadary. I wish not to be concerned in an affair of so much vexation; you may be pleased to find out some other that does. I myself am heartily tired with these disputes and wranglings. Unnecessarily you give your troops trouble in sending them against my Officers; and why do not you write to bid all my Officers get out of their districts and repair to me, since that my wretched Officers have no forces in their districts. But Chittagong Midnapoor, and Burdwan, which I, agreeable to treaty between us, ceded to your Agents, you yourself know that not so much as a man of mine sets a foot therein, and I abstain from the customary provisions. If you do not determine justly for me, there is the greatest room for me to be surprized

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.

Dated 26 February 1763.

YOUR letter is arrived, and has much rejoiced me. You write that, "Your copy of the letter which Mahomed Aly Bêg wrote to Meer Abdulla, the Aumil of the Purgunnah Sundeep, being sent you, Mahomed Aly Bêg's intention is, that not a single Englishman shall

“ be suffered in the Country, moreover, much loss
 “ having arisen to the Company’s business, ac-
 “ cordingly the treaty made between us is totally
 “ broken by Mahomed Aly Bêg; I must bring
 “ the aforesaid person to punishment, or you can-
 “ not sit by inactive, and let the Company’s bu-
 “ siness go to ruin. Also that the Chief of Lucky-
 “ poor neither imprisoned my Yessawal, or killed
 “ Bercundasses, nor detained Golam Ahmud;
 “ whatever Mahomed Aly Bêg may have here-
 “ tofore written to me on this matter, is a mistake.”

In all affairs between us, you, Sir, are the best
 judge of the person that occasions hurt to our in-
 terest. Although punishing Mahomed Bêg is a
 trifle with me; however, God willing, I shall ar-
 rive in your quarter, and if he shall have com-
 mitted any fault, I will chastize him.

But you have no power to punish any person in
 post, that occasions hurt under your administration.
 Your order is absolute with respect to my people,
 but you have not the least command over your
 own. By all means take notice of such persons; it
 is almost in their power to occasion a rupture be-
 twixt you and me.

From the first even until now, I never had a
 word with a single Gomastah or one of your
 people. But your Officer, who has heretofore con-
 fined my Officers, at this present also wants to send
 troops against them, and have them brought bound.
 No wonder if your writing this back to me, has
 greatly surprized me. As to

The charge of all this on me: I have not
 a hand in these things, there is no need of the
 charge of your Gomastahs. You observe, that
 through the tumults of Mahomed Aly Bêg, the
 agreement between us is entirely broken. Sir, ex-
 pressions of this kind signify something different,
 since I have not any where seen or heard, that

3

through

through the tumults of servants, a treaty concluded between their superiors may be broken. Without doubt you must know this perfectly well: you need not throw the blame upon any one.

What Jafsârut Cawn and Mahomed Aly Bêg formerly wrote on the affair of my Yessawals confinement, I straitway transmitted to you, and with relation of it made great impression on your mind. But before now, when you in consequence of a letter from the Chief of Luckypoor, were earnest with me, that Mahomed Aly Bêg had killed your Seapoys; what did you discover upon examining this affair, that you are at present so urgent about a little scrap of the aforesaid writing? For at this time also my Yessawal is arrived, and being interrogated before me, he made the following relation, viz. “ When he reached Luckypoor, he shewed
“ my dustuck to Golam Ahmud. Scarce an hour
“ had past, when the Chief of Luckypoor factory
“ sent 200 men, and surrounded him quite alone,
“ and not a soul with him, and ill-treated him,
“ carried him off as fast as they could, with many
“ acts of violence. The Chief aforesaid, and other of
“ the people employed under him, said, They made
“ Jaffier Aly Cawn Nabob, and afterwards turned
“ him out again, and I myself also am one of their
“ own setting up, and this dustuck which he has
“ brought shall have no influence with them.
“ With such rebukes they kept him three days in
“ confinement, but Hircarabs escaping, went with
“ this news of him to Jafsârut Cawn, and Ma-
“ homed Aly Bêg. After this other Hircarabs
“ having brought a letter from the Governor of
“ Calcutta (that is you, my friend) to the Chief
“ there, he sent him together with Golâm Ah-
“ mud to me.”

At the time the Chief aforesaid had confined my Yessawal with all this ignominy and ill treatment,

how did Mahomed Aly Bêg know that he would release him after three days, and send him to me? And had not your letter arrived he never had released my Yessawal, unless, agreeable to the account of their Hircarahs, Jesiarut Cawn and Mahomed Aly Bêg had wrote me the particulars of my Yessawal's confinement.

Seeing that you are a wise man, consider these injurious manners of the English and my officers, and on whose side lies the hardship, and who are the persons that act contrary to the agreement, and in secret make use of infamous and injurious expressions, to the prejudice of men of character.

Above all, how many fleets of boats are there in Patna, yet cannot I get so much as a single boat to cross over the Ganges; nay, other boats that have been procured, the people of your factory there release and carry away with them.

The Nabob's letters of the 26th of February having been read in Council the 7th of March, it was resolved that the following answer should be wrote to him by me as President.

N 4. a—*The Governor's Letter to the Nabob.*

I Have received your letter of the 26th of February, which having read to the gentlemen of the Council, they agree with me in opinion, that there appears throughout a general disinclination to give us any satisfaction for the interruptions and ill usage which the business of the English Company and gentlemen has received from Mahomed Aly and other Officers of your Government; and that both your letters seem, on the whole, rather an evasion than an answer to my representations. I am therefore, now in my own name, and in the name of the gentlemen of the Council, to give you the following account of what has been resolved on by us:
The

The Firmaund and other public orders of the Court, together with the subsequent treaties with the Subahs, having been referred to and strictly examined, we find that the English, having the Company's dustuck, are thereby entitled to carry on their trade (as well foreign as inland) in the Provinces of Bengal, Baher, and Orixia, duty free. By the tenor of them therefore, the Council are determined to abide. We have, however, taken information of the custom that has hitherto prevailed in the different parts of the country, with respect to the English paying duty on certain articles of inland trade; and from these we learn, that the articles of salt and tobacco are the only ones which have paid such duty, and that the latter article has paid it only at the factories of Luckypoor and Dacca. This being the case, and as we do not mean to break entirely thro' this established custom, although the afore-mentioned grants give us a full sanction to trade, duty free, we have determined that a consideration shall continue to be paid to your Government on salt, after the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. as will be explained to you by Mr. Amyatt, and the method of collecting it settled by him.

With respect to our Gomastahs, we cannot admit that they should be under any actual controul of the Officers of your Government; but we have laid down certain regulations, whereby to restrain them from committing injuries or abuses on the country people, as well as to direct them to make their complaint to the chief of the factory, in case of receiving any from your Officers or dependants, and the said chief will take the necessary measures for putting a stop to them.

Copy of the Firmaund, Husbulhookums and treaties, together with the rules for collecting the aforesaid duty on salt, and guiding the conduct of our Gomastahs and your Officers, will be sent

to you by Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay, whom myself with the Council have thought proper to depute, to explain to you more fully the justice of those rights and pretensions.

With respect to the complaints which have already been made, we do insist on justice against all those Officers of the Government who may be proved guilty of the extortions and obstructions laid to their charge, and that reparation shall be made for the losses occasioned thereby.

On the other hand, all the complaints made by your Officers in different parts of the country, against English Agents and Gomastahs, have been referred to the examination of the gentlemen of the factories nearest to those places from whence the complaints have come; and whatever injustice it may appear they have committed, we shall be particularly careful to cause them to make amends for.

N 4. b—*Extract of Consultation of the 7th of March 1763.*

Mr. Johnstone's Opinion.

Mr. Jonstone moves, That a letter should now be wrote by the Board to the Nabob, in answer to the first of his three demands, explaining to him the powers of the Council; that it is with them in fact he acts, although their opinion is transmitted through the channel of the President, and that therefore he should consider them in the first degree. Further, that in it the Governor's letter, containing the regulations should be re-demanded, and that the letters now sent should be signed by the Board, and sealed with the Company's seal.

The Secretary being directed to collect the opinions of the Board on this motion of Mr. Johnstone's, the several members delivered the same as follows.

Mr.

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

Mr. Watts is of opinion, That a paragraph should be inserted in the letter to be wrote to the Nabob, explaining to him the powers of the Board; and that the letter sent by Mr. Vansittart to the Nabob should be demanded back, as from the Board; but that the letter now sent be forwarded under the President's seal.

Mr. Marriott's Opinion.

Mr. Marriott is of the same opinion with Mr. Watts.

Mr. Hay's Opinion.

Mr. Hay thinks, that the explanation regarding the powers of the Council should be made to the Nabob in a public letter, agreeable to Mr. Johnstone's motion; but that the demand for the letter, containing the regulations, should be made in a letter under the President's seal.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

The Company have plainly declared their intention, that all correspondences with the country powers shall be carried on through the channel of the Governor; and as an alteration of this custom will subject the Nabob (who has not been used to such a method, nor can be a judge of the propriety of it) to great perplexities, and tend to create a breach between us, I object to any letter being wrote to the Nabob but with the President's seal.

As to any explanation of the powers of the Board, the Nabob, to my knowledge, is well acquainted with them, nor is such an information in anywise necessary.

It is also unnecessary to demand back the Governor's letter to the Nabob, as it will of course be annulled by the new regulations.

Messrs. Cartier and Billers are of the same opinion with Mr. Watts.

Mr. Batson's Opinion.

Mr. Batson agrees with Mr. Johnstone in opinion, That the authority of the Board should be asserted, and the Governor's written agreement be demanded back, and that it is the interest of the public that the correspondence should be carried on by the Board.

Major Carnac's Opinion.

Major Carnac is of opinion, That the Nabob either does not, or will not understand the powers of the Board, and therefore they ought to be explained to him as to admit of no dispute; which cannot be done any ways so effectually as by a letter under the public seal, as proposed by Mr. Johnstone in his minute; and that, in this same letter, the Governor's, containing the regulations, should be demanded back.

Mr. Amyatt's Opinion.

Mr. Amyatt is of Mr. Watts's opinion.

Major Adams's Opinion.

Major Adams is of opinion, That the Nabob's letter should be answered by the President in the name of the Board, under his own seal, which, with the purport of the letter, will sufficiently convince the Nabob that the power is lodged in the majority of the Council; and he thinks the redemanding the letter will more properly become a part of the instructions to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay.

The

The President's Opinion.

The President observes, That he had already explained to the Nabob more than once the powers of the Board, when he wrote the letter in question; but that as the Nabob now affects to be insensible of the powers of the Board, and instead of complying with his agreement endeavours to make the worst use possible of the letter, he thinks he should be wrote to in the terms proposed by Mr. Johnstone, but that it should be wrote in the usual manner, through the channel of the President, as any other method is contrary to the Company's standing orders, as well as detrimental to their affairs.

The majority of the Board, being of Mr. Watts's opinion, ordered that two additional paragraphs, expressing the sense thereof, be added to the letter which is above directed to be wrote to the Nabob by the President. That the whole letter be drawn up by the Secretary from the resolutions of Council, and when approved of by the members, be sent to the translator, with directions to render it into Persian, applying to the President for the Moonshy, who usually writes the letters for that purpose.

Copy of the additional Paragraphs to the Letter to the Nabob.

You mention in your letter, That it has been customary for the Subahs of these Provinces to negotiate only with the Governor, and that you also have done heretofore, according to that custom, and that you will not negotiate with any of the gentlemen of Council. In answer to which I must acquaint you, that although it is very true, negotiations with the Subahs are carried on by the Governor

vernor only, yet that and all other business depends upon the opinion and determination of the Governor and Council together; and in this manner affairs being considered and resolved on, the Governor is only the channel through which it is made known to the Subahs, of which also you cannot but be sensible, as I have often acquainted you before.

It is very true, that the regulations of trade agreed on between you and me are not approved of by the Council, and therefore cannot take place; and further, the ill behaviour and violent oppressions committed by your officers in all parts, by an abuse of the authority granted them by that agreement, are so notorious and insupportable, that if they are not put an immediate stop to, the friendship between us will be broken; and as it is to be feared they will continue to act in the same manner until they are acquainted from you that the intended agreement is annulled, I desire you will send back that letter to me, and acquaint your Officers in all parts that you have so returned it.

The obvious tendency of this motion points out but too plainly the factious spirit which dictated it, since nothing could have so effectually convinced the Nabob of the weakness of our Government, and the power of his enemies; besides, that by claiming his acknowledgement of an authority to which he had never hitherto been accustomed, and by throwing the correspondence into a new channel, which he knew to be contrary to the rules of our Government, a snare was laid to aggravate the disputes by his disowning that authority, or by the perplexity which it must of course lead him into, was he inclined to comply with it.

O 4. — *Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna to the Governor and Council.*

Dated 27th February 1763.

THE Nabob having been defeated in his attack on the first pass leading to Napaul, we are now to advise you that he crossed the river yesterday, and is at this time encamped with the remains of his army at Jaffier Cawn's Garden.

Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna to the Governor and Council

Dated 6th March 1763.

WE now inclose you a translation of a letter from the Company's Gomastah at Mow, which will give you a pretty just idea of what lengths the Nabob intended proceeding to, and how greatly he would have distressed our affairs, had he not been timely checked.

Early this morning we detached three companies of Seapoys to Mow, under the command of Lieutenant Downie, with orders to clear the Company's business in that district, and seize all those who have interrupted it, agreeable to your directions. We beg your further orders with regard to punishing them, and cannot help observing how necessary it is that some examples should be made, in order to put an effectual stop to this growing evil.

The Nabob marched two days ago from Jaffier Cawn's gardens, and is now encamped near Fat-tuah.

O 4. a—*Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.*

Dated the 5th March, 1763.

I Have had the pleasure duly to receive three of your favours, dated the 7th and 8th of Sha-baun, and understand the particulars mentioned in them.

At a time when this Government was loaded with a balance of revenues due to the King, the arrears of the troops, and debts owing to the English, I marched out of Bengal, and repaired to the extremity of the Province of Bahar, in order to settle these matters. Upon that country's being left without a ruler, every village and district became ruined by the oppression of the English Agents and Gomastahs; a thorough stop was put to collecting the revenues, and the merchants, and poor people, and all my Officers and Ministers of the public, and private receipts of custom, were distressed, and deprived of their daily bread, and I am a sufferer in the revenues due to my administration near a crore of Rupees. I have in the mean while made continual complaints and representations of this injustice, and informed you particularly and circumstantially of all matters, nevertheless you have been pleased to observe that my Officers are to blame.

When you favoured me with a visit at Mongheer, I laid before you all my concerns. You were very earnest in settling all disputes between my Government and the English company and gentlemen, and their Gomastahs, and you in some measure comforted me, and persuaded me that “from that
“time, business would be carried on in a proper
“manner, and my Government neither injured,
“oppressed, or damaged.” Afterwards, on your
return

return to Calcutta, contrary to your agreement with me, you detached forces to carry on the business of the Company and English gentlemen by compulsion, and to beat and chastise my officers if they offer to speak a word.

For these three years I have not got a single rupee, nor a thousand rupees, nor one piece, nor ten pieces of cloth, nor a bundle of broad cloth, nor ten bundles, nor a pair of scissars, nor so much as a clasp knife, from the English gentlemen or their Gomastahs; however they have by violence levied fines, and penalties, and losses in their trade on my officers, and still continue to levy them, and if any of my officers refuse to submit to this, they pour a storm of complaints on his head.

Lately you have repeatedly ordered me “to let
“the business of the Company and English gentle-
“men and their Gomastahs, go on as was cus-
“tomary heretofore in the different parts of the
“provinces of Bengal and Bahar: to suffer the
“money and bullion of your factories to be coined
“into siccas in my mints, and to have the wicket
“and entrenchment in the city of Patna opened.”
I not having it in my power to refuse, have given you the free use of my mint, and directed the wicket to be opened, and a stop to be put to collecting of customs upon traffick in the commodities of my country, from all merchants, pikars, and dilolls in the province of Bahar and Bengal, and I have had all gauts and chokys, both in the city and country round about, entirely removed.

All this my loss is owing entirely to the favour and protection of the whole Board, because that my being like the Nabob, Meer Jaffier, indebted to his Majesty, and embarrassed by my troops, and reduced to his situation, is what they approve of: my people and merchants being distressed, my Country being oppressed, myself despised and sub-
ject

ject to daily insults, and my Officers and servants being evil intreated ; I have chose therefore to give up all these points to you. Now I am in expectation of your answer, to inform me if my life is safe, or if there is any thing more to be done.

O 4. b—*From the Nabob to the Governor.*

5 March 1763.

YOUR friendly letter dated the 8th, Shabaun is arrived, and I am happy with the news of your welfare. You write that the opinion of the Council is as follows :

“ They are all very desirous of assisting and supporting me and my Government, but cannot bear with patience that my officers should impede or damage the business of their commerce, that the report of your setting up another Nabob, is the weak insinuation of designing men. That the regulation of the Board is to make such an agreement in pursuance of the royal Firmaund, and the rules of equity, as may leave no room for disputes in future between my Officers and their Gomastahs.” How can I bring myself firmly to credit this, since Mr. Ellis is one of the Council, who for these two years past has been endeavouring all in his power to hurt my affairs, and make me appear little in the eyes of the world ; nay, is at this time taking pains daily to involve me in trouble, drawing up his Company of Seapoys to provoke me, and omitting no opportunity of depreciating me, both in this my own Country, and with Shujah-ul-Dowla, and other great men at Court, sending all whatever he can devise to my discredit, by means of Shitabroy to Shujah-ul-Dowla, &c. and he likewise says whatever comes uppermost

uppermost in his mind to my prejudice in public assemblies.

In regard to what you write, advising me of the royal Firmaund, and your having in view the preparation of another treaty : when you favoured me with your company at Mongheer, I told you frequently that, “ Your power was great, but I had
“ little to boast of ; you should please to consider,
“ and not fall into the notion that any agreement
“ would be binding with oppressive people.”

Is not this an instance of oppression, that the salt-petre lands which I have rented unto you, Gentlemen, upon the produce of which you used to pay formerly 3 and $3\frac{1}{2}$ Rupees per Maund, at this present you peremptorily hold at $1\frac{3}{4}$ Rupees, plundering and injuring my people ? So my Country is to go to ruin, and I am not to utter a word. Besides all this you write, that it is my own Officers who create these disturbances, make use of oppression, and lay waste the salt-petre lands.

This being the case, how can any treaty stand good between us ? and how can it take effect, if such oppressions continue ? Moreover, as you have dispatched the Company's troops to chastize my Officers, if they but murmur on the occasion, why need you trouble yourselves to make another treaty ?

In my service there is not one that can prejudice me against you in any affair. Under you there is Mr. Ellis, who fails not to prejudice you with evil insinuations against me, as you must see and be sensible of, though you connive thereat, and say nothing on the subject ; but you are pleased to think (I do not know upon what grounds) that I have evil-minded people in my service.

I am at a loss how to act under these censures, and must own myself insufficient, if regulations of this nature take place. Be pleased, therefore, to set

me free from the uneasinesses of such an administration, and set up a person for conducting it whom the Council may better approve.

Full well I know that they will both condemn me, and injure your good name, and do this business. Why do they wait for a charge against me? It is not the part of men to bring an unjust charge against any one with a view to compass other designs. It is better that you do it at this time.

O 4. c — *Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna, to the Governor and Council.*

Dated 12 March 1763.

THE following is an extract of a letter from Lieutenant Downie to the Chief, received last night: “ I have the pleasure to acquaint you, “ that I have just now seized Meer Acbur Aly, “ whom I shall send to you ; I have likewise taken “ possession of the salt-petre he seized from the “ Company, and that which he collected from his “ Purgunnah, and shall have it carried to Mow as “ soon as possible. I will now proceed to Durbunghy, “ to *catch* the other opposers of the Company’s “ trade.”

Meer Acbur Aly arrived here about noon, under the charge of a Subadar and fifty Seapoys. We have called him before us, and the excuse he makes for his violent proceedings is, that he was setting up to act as the Company’s Gomastah.

We again repeat our request, that you will favour us with your orders, what we are to do with this man ; or any other who may act in the like manner.

Copy

*Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at
Patna, to the Governor and Council.*

Dated 15 March 1763.

WE acquainted you the 12th, that Lieutenant Downie had made Meer Acbur Aly a prisoner, and taken possession of the Company's petre at Taajepoor, where he left it in charge of a Havilder, a Naick, and twelve Seapoys, till it should be removed to the factory at Mow. This party was attacked by a body of 500 horse, sent for that purpose from the Nabob's camp, by whom four of them have been killed, three wounded, and the remainder, with the Company's Gomastah, carried prisoners to the Nabob.

The Nabob has halted at Pennarac, and we have intelligence that he proposes returning here to attack us. Should he carry his threats into execution, we shall immediately possess ourselves of the city, as the most effectual means of rendering his evil designs abortive.

*O 4. d.—Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the
Governor.*

Dated 11 March 1763.

YOUR two favours are arrived, and have rejoiced me. You write that “ Mr. Middleton,
“ who resides at Luckypoor, wrote a letter to you
“ and the rest of the Council. You have sent me
“ a translation thereof, with copies of the letters
“ which Aca Mahomed Nizam Syed Budde Cawn
“ wrote to the said gentlemen and others. That
“ Golaum Hessein is Moonshy at the Company's
“ factory, and Mahomed Gâzy, collector of the
“ Comany's Taaluc, annexed to Luckypoor. That
“ now

“ now Mahomed Aly wants to plunder the Of-
 “ ficers aforefaid, and feize their perfons. That
 “ it has been always an eftablifhed rule, that fer-
 “ vants of the Company remain at the difpofal,
 “ and under the protection of the Company, and
 “ Mahomed Aly Bêg wants to break through it.
 “ That the faid Taaluc has been under the Com-
 “ pany from the time of Meer Jaffier Cawn.
 “ Moreover, that Cortub Aulum my Officer at
 “ Rajamohul, wrote a letter to Mr. George Gray,
 “ a copy of which you have alfo fent ; he in like
 “ manner wants to feize upon the Company’s
 “ Taaluc, and to remove the Bazar of the factory.
 “ That you have fent me a copy of the letter
 “ you wrote to him. That you are defirous of a
 “ ftop being put to thefe difputes, and that the
 “ bufinefs of both our Governments may be car-
 “ ried on in a proper manner ; but it is daily
 “ ruined by the villainous proceedings of my Of-
 “ ficers, particularly Mahomed Aly Bêg. Further,
 “ that Seyd Jelaul Bocâry ftops your boats laden
 “ with falt, and demands extraordinary duties
 “ upon them.”

The copies of Mr. Middleton’s letters tranf-
 lated are arrived, and I fully underftand the purport
 of them.

Since all this wrangling on the part of the
 Gentlemen has arifen on account of duties, I have
 accordingly put a ftop to the collecting of duties
 and customs, in all diftricts of the provinces fub-
 ject to me, as well as to coining of money in all
 my mints ; I have alfo had the wicket in Patna
 opened, as I before wrote, for your information.
 Now that you are pleafed to write complaints
 againft Mahomed Aly Bêg, I have removed him
 from Dacca, and fent for him hither, fo you may
 chufe whom you will amongft the Europeans to
 take

take the management of Dacca. Although Mahomed Aly Bêg has neither plundered any one, nor placed guards upon the house of one individual, yet to put an end to all the blame you heap upon me, I have sent for him hither.

But Ellis is he, that has made twice these disturbances, and not long since placed a guard upon my dwelling, I mean the fort of Mongheer, and at this very time has detached three companies of Seapoys, and two pieces of cannon, with intent of seizing my Officers, and has actually surrounded the fort of Taagepoor. I know not the reason of these insults from the said Ellis, nor will I put up with these his tumultuous proceedings, wherefore, I have wrote as much for your information.

O 4. e ——— *Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.*

Dated 14 March 763.

IT has been merely for the friendship and esteem I bear to you, that I have all along been steadfast in acknowledging your marks of favour, and for the friendship and regard you have shewn to me. I have put up with every thing, until now that my patience is quite exhausted.

Whatever is to be done, do you, Sir, do it yourself. Why should you have me lessened and degraded by your servants, and people of no character? One man may by all means be a friend to one man, but to be dependent upon ten people, is beyond the power of mortal man.

From the beginning, I have in no wise been deficient in the performance of the regulations you made with me, but have exactly complied with my agreement.

At this time, that you have been pleased to write to me to keep open the wicket and entrenchments in the city of Patna, and for trade to go on as usual, I paid all due respect to your letter, and immediately complied with its contents. I had sent for Mahomed Aly Bêg from Dacca, and I was on my way from Patna towards Rajemohul, and had reached Barr, when Mr. Ellis had sent three companies of Seapoys, with two guns, in order to surround my fortrefs of Taagepoor, besides other companies towards Durbunga, Mow, Teegra, Sircar Sârum, Takary, and other districts in different parts of the province, by which my affairs have been so much hurt, that an entire stop is put to the collection of my revenues.

I knew not in what light to consider all these disturbances, plunderings, and ravages; so upon information of this news, I dispatched Mahomed Ameen Cawn, one of my Jemmadars, towards Taagepoor, that he might enquire particularly into the affairs, and bring me intelligence of the cause of so much disorder. He had not reached the spot ere the companies I have mentioned had taken hold of Acbur Aly Naib of Sheer Zâmân, my Aumil at Taagepoor, and carried him away to Patna. My Jemmadar wrote me these particulars; in answer to which, I sent him orders to bring your Gomastah residing at the factory of Taagepoor to me, that particulars might be enquired of him, why my Aumil had been laid hold of and carried away.

When Mahomed Ameen Cawn drew nigh to the factory, your Seapoys there, by order of the Gomastah, fired upon him, without challenging him. My Jemmadar having no other resource, used all the force that he had, seized your Gomastah, and brought him to me. I examined into this affair in the best manner, and then dismissed your Gomastah

maftah. I found from him that my Aumil was by no means in fault, but Ellis having fixed the blame of all thefe tumults and diforders upon my Aumils, under pretence of the falt-petre, merely from his own hatred to me, and impetuofity of temper, has created thefe difturbances, and perfeveres in them.

You wrote me heretofore, that by keeping the wicket in the city of Patna fhut, a report would in all probability prevail amongft the people, that the Company and I were at variance.

Ellis, for two years, has been making all thefe difturbances, in order to demean me and my affairs. Ought I not to be informed how I am to confider thefe proceedings, and what is the reafon of them? You are as a friend bound to free me from all thefe difputes, which I never can bear with. Moreover, fince the faid Gentleman has committed violence on my Officers, fhould my Officers for the fake of their character ftand upon the defence, you are not to injure my reputation; but, if you are inclined to allow Mr. Ellis's actions, you had as good difpofe of my Country to him, that you and I may be freed from the vexations of it, for I am convinced, that the Council will not determine this difpute.

I have halted here at Barr two days, on account of this affair; to-morrow I fhall march towards Mongheer.

O 4. f — *Copy of Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.*

Dated 15 March 1763.

I HAVE been favoured with your letter, together with copies of a Perwânah to Mahomed Aly. Bêg, and other papers. You write, that
I 4 “ Mr.

“ Mr. Senior paid the duties upon 4,000 Maunds
 “ of salt at the Shahbunder, took a pass, and dis-
 “ patched his salt, but Syed Jelaul Bocary stopped
 “ it, and required a further duty upon it. That
 “ at Rungpoor a duty is demanded upon all
 “ kinds of goods, upon which account the business
 “ of the English gentlemen and their Gomastahs
 “ is entirely stopped. That at Shewgunge, be-
 “ longing to Dinâgepoor, Reranaut, my Naib
 “ there, has collected money, under the pretence
 “ of a tax for the support of poor and indigent
 “ people; that Roy Mohunloll, Aumil of Bahar,
 “ demands a duty upon opium. That, as your
 “ Gomastahs about Rangamatty are distressed
 “ through a scarcity of provisions, you have sent
 “ some Seapoys thither to bring Syed Jelaul Bo-
 “ cary to you.”

From the beginning to this present, I have
 looked upon myself obliged to you, and have
 assented to every thing you either spoke, wrote, or
 negotiated with me, upon any affair whatever;
 having, for the sake of your good pleasure, put an
 entire stop to the collection of all kinds of duties
 and customs upon merchandize, as well country,
 as imports and exports from you, the rest of the
 Gentlemen, and all other people, both great and
 small; nay, though it was plainly to the detri-
 ment of my affairs, yet, to avoid all disputes be-
 tween your Government and mine, I have shut up
 all my mints, and I have likewise sent for Ma-
 homed Aly Bêg from Dacca. Now, you will
 please to consider, if you have spoken or written
 to me, upon any other matter that I have not
 complied with. Notwithstanding all this that I
 have done to preserve your esteem, and although
 you have expressed the sincerest friendship and re-
 gard, yet, your sending Seapoys to seize my Of-
 ficers and bring them to you, will convince all
 mankind

mankind what solid foundation the friendship and love between us is built upon.

These kind of reports may be very much to your mind, but they are by no means agreeable to mine.

I told you face to face, and have written again and again to you, that on account of the differences of disposition betwixt me and the English gentlemen, I looked upon myself insufficient for this employment; accordingly, it were better that in the same manner as they gave it once to me, they now deliver it over to whomsoever they may think proper.

It is very far from the character becoming you to write me letters breathing nothing but friendship, and at the same time to give ear to the unjust reports of your own people, and take steps towards a rupture.

If you are willing to shew yourself a friend, immediately order back Syed Jelaul Bocâry to his own district, and break not up the foundation of our friendship, in doing which, by the by, you are not backward, since I think there is no great favour in your sending Seapoys against my Officers, and in writing to me on such subjects. If you are still resolved to detach your people, do not write to me, for I will not return you an answer upon such matters.

[In the Nabob's own Hand.]

Such tumults as the English have set on foot, were never known in any Government till the time of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn: That they should send Seapoys, and seize the Officers of the Government and carry them away, at the same time the Nazim * was looking on without taking notice of it. All my remissness has been owing entirely to the friendship between you and me. If the English

Nabob.

Gomas-

Gomastahs will carry on their trade according to custom practised by other merchants, well and good; if not, I have no resource but to make use of the same expressions, favouring of disagreement, that ye do. My reputation and honour is dearer to me than life. If you are inclined to let friendship subsist between us, it behoves you to lay aside these disturbances and altercations, in which there appears nothing but animosity; and if you are inclined to break with me, let me know it immediately, that I may have nothing further to do with these, for I can consider no longer on them.

The Nabob's letters of the 11th, 14th, and 15th of March, having been read in Council the 24th, it was resolved that the following answer should be wrote by me, as President.

O 4. g ——— *Copy of a Letter to the Nabob.*

Dated 24th March 1763.

I Have received your letters of the 11th, 14th, and 15th instant. With regard to the interruptions of our trade, and the disputes which have happened between the dependents of your Government and ours, our original orders were to apply to you and your Officers for redress on any occasion of complaint on our part; but this was so often done without effect, that finding the interruptions and disturbances daily increase, insomuch that our business was in most parts put an entire stop to, we had no remedy left to make use of, but that of force to free our business, and therefore, disagreeable as it was to us, we were obliged to give such orders to all the factories, of which you have before been duly advised.

What Mr. Ellis has done in the Patna Province for clearing the Company's business, was agreeable
to

to the said orders sent him by the Board; and I must here particularly observe, with respect to that gentleman's not applying to you for redress on any occasion, that you have absolutely put it out of his power, by declaring that you would not answer any of his letters, and having really left unanswered four which he actually wrote you.

I do not find that you have yet given orders to any of your Officers to forbear from obstructing our business, as they still continue to do it to the utmost of their power, excepting in those places where our troops are actually stationed for it's protection. When you have given such orders as shall put an end to those obstructions, we, on our part, will not interfere with your Officers, or the affairs of your Government.

I have wrote you before of our resolutions and demands, and I now again acquaint you, that we shall insist upon a compliance with them in every point. Myself as well as the Council are heartily resolved to support you in your Government and all its rights; but if you oppose our people in the execution of orders which we have authorized, and with which you have been acquainted, we shall look upon such conduct as an open declaration of war; but to shew you our earnest desire to prevent such an event, we continue in our resolution to send to you Mr. Amyatt, (who will be accompanied by Mr. Hay) for the purposes we have before wrote you, as soon as we shall receive your answer to this letter.

I must in this letter take notice of two particular phrases that you make use of, "servants, and "men of low character." I am very unwilling to suppose you could by such unbecoming expressions mean the gentlemen of Council, but they with me insist upon an explanation, as we will by no means suffer ourselves to be treated with disrespect.

P 4.—In the President's letter to the Board from Mongheer, which contained the regulations made with the Nabob, he mentioned a resolution expressed by the Nabob to abolish all duties whatever in his dominions, to avoid the daily disputes between our people and his Officers who collected them. This the Nabob now actually put in execution, and as soon as it was known, it became a fresh dispute at the Board, which was opened by a minute of Mr. Johnstone's, in the consultation of the 22d of March. As all the arguments on this subject are fully stated in the minutes entered upon it by the members of the Board, those minutes are entered at large. Upon the whole, it was resolved by a great majority, that this exemption was a breach of the Company's privileges, and that the Nabob should be positively required to recal it, and collect duties as before from the country merchants, and all other persons who had not the protection of the Company's dustuck.

Mr. Johnstone's Minute.

No public advices having been yet received from the Chief and Council at Patna, and the instructions for Messrs. Amyatt and Hay being now lying for consideration, Mr. Johnstone begs leave to deliver in copies of Sunnuds issued at Patna, &c. by the Nabob, received in private letters, ordering an exemption to all merchants from duties of every kind on their trade for two years. As this proceeding appears destructive to the Company's royal privileges and rights, Mr. Johnstone thinks it merits the consideration of the Board to concert measures to prevent this injurious attempt of the Nabob, which he conceives beyond his authority as a Subah, raised and supported by us, without any revocation of our grants by the King himself; and
that

that we neither can nor ought to admit of it, consistently with the trust reposed in us by the Company, while they have placed the means of supporting their rights in our hands.

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

Mr. Watts is of opinion, That the Nabob's taking off duties on all goods, must be highly detrimental to the Company's trade; that it is a step he, as Subah of Bengal, has no authority to do, without permission from the Mogul; and as the Mogul has always deemed the English in a much superior light to the Nabob, he thinks it is incumbent on them to insist that the duties be collected from other merchants as formerly, otherwise our privileges granted to us by the Firmaund, &c. will be entirely overset.

Mr. Marriott's Opinion.

Mr. Marriott thinks, That the Nabob, in issuing out the late Perwâna to take off duties from all trade, has acted quite contrary to the Company's interest, and must, if not put a stop to, prevent our procuring the usual investment, as the goods in consequence will be dearer, the quantity smaller, and the quality much inferior; that this order appears to have been done with a design to prejudice the English affairs in this country as much as possible, as the rights and privileges we hold over other European nations, and the natives of this country, are now become void, and what has cost the Company so great an expence of blood and treasure, is now rendered of no signification; that the making our Firmaund privilege of no effect, which he has done by this order, is the same as if he had entirely prevented us trading with a Company's dustuck, and demanded duties as he has lately done: That

we ought at all rates to insist on his recalling these orders; and should he refuse, look upon it as a downright declaration against the Company's interest, and act with him as an infringer of our rights.

Mr. Hay's Opinion.

It appears to Mr. Hay, That the Nabob's remitting the duties on the whole trade of these provinces for two years, is done with no other design than to prejudice the affairs of the English, and render of as little use as possible the privileges they enjoy by the grants they are possessed of; and that this step has been pointed out to him by the Armenians, or some others whose interest it is that the English should be loaded with that more than double custom of 9 per cent. in hopes that the Company within the space of two years, may, from an apprehension of their own trade being hurt, order that this extravagant duty should be paid, or that the inland trade should not be carried on by their servants.

The Nabob will be no loser by this measure, for he will undoubtedly, at the end of the two years, make the merchants answerable to him for the duties on the goods in which they trade in the interim.

This is the beginning of a game, that will, no doubt, if a stop is not put to it, be continually played to the disadvantage of the English company. Mr. Hay is therefore of opinion, that it should be made known to the Nabob, that we look on this measure as designed to prejudice the Company's affairs, and that we will not quietly see him proceed in measures that can answer no other purpose than the oversetting our privileges.

Mr. Johnstone's Opinion.

I entirely agree with Mr. Hay's opinion. I have heard it urged, that the Nabob is master in his territories, and may therefore remit to his subjects any advantage accruing to his revenues from duties collected in the country. To me it appears quite otherwise; nor can I conceive that the Nabob, whom we have raised to the Subaship, and have hitherto supported in it by force of arms, in opposition to the King, can ever have thereby acquired a right to undermine, and entirely ruin the rights and advantages the Company at an immense expence obtained by grants from the Sovereign of the kingdom, or by treaties with the foregoing Subah, all which this man has bound himself to maintain and confirm to us in the fullest extent. Had such an attempt been made by Jaffier Aly Cawn, or Serajah Dowla, to render of no use and effect the singular advantage our nation enjoyed, by the privilege of carrying on their trade under the dustuck, surely every one must have considered such proceedings as the plainest declaration of their enmity, ill will, and fixed resolution to ruin our trade, superiority, and influence through the country, by reducing us on a footing with all other European or foreign traders, and even with the Bengal inhabitants. I imagine that no power we have been pleased to invest this Nabob with, can ever authorize him to take such a step to the prejudice of the Company, or justify us to our employers to permit it to take place. Nothing less than an order from the King at Delly could claim our regard in this point; and even that I believe the Company would expect we should not comply with, till we had used every method in our power for the preservation of their rights and immunities. The Nabob, after repeated
attempts

attempts to burthen us with the exorbitant duty of 9 per cent. on articles of exports, as well as inland trade, on finding the Board resolved to oppose it, and support the dustuck in its full extent, has now recourse to an exemption from all duties to other merchants, to invalidate our proceedings in opposition to the late regulations; but he may with as great propriety, in regard to us, insist on the one as the other; and our time and arguments will seem to have been employed to very little purpose, indeed, if we allow him to elude them, and baffle us by such a proceeding. Nor can I imagine the necessity of Messrs. Amyatt and Hay now proceeding to explain our resolutions, and the extent of our privileges, while they are thus rendered of no effect: Till that demand therefore be revoked by a previous application of the Board, any deputation to him would appear to me rather hurtful than beneficial.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

Mr. Cartier esteems the copy of a Sunnud from Cossim Aly Cawn to the Naib of Patna, directing him to lay open the trade of the country to the natives, &c. for the space of two years, free of all duties and taxes, purposely done to render void and counteract those regulations we have been deliberating upon for these last two months, for the better establishment of our particular privileges, and to set proper boundaries to our own as well as the Nabob's power. That this grant will very materially affect the Honourable Company's investment in every branch, not only in point of price, but the amount of their order, that the former will be greatly enhanced, as the latter proportionably decreased; from the swarm of purchasers this indulgence must necessarily produce; and that the Honourable Company's particular privileges and grants, derived to them from the
authority

authority of the great Mogul, will be rendered invalid, and of no consequence by this step. That we are strongly interested from every motive of good and wise policy, to prevent the same from taking effect, more particularly as it's taking place would over-set our influence, and ruin that distinguishing mark of favour received from the Court of Delly, that if it be allowed a right inherent in the Nabob to do as he pleases with the revenues of his country, and to shew all manner of indulgence to his subjects, it will as naturally follow, that it becomes necessary in us, to prevent any innovation in his Government, that must evidently be attended with bad consequences to the Honourable Company's affairs; he is therefore of opinion, that all possible endeavours should be tried to prevent this Sunnud from taking effect, and that the methods necessary to be applied to answer this purpose merits the consideration of the Board.

Mr. Billers's Opinion.

Mr. Billers agrees entirely in opinion with Mr. Marriot.

Mr. Batson's Opinion.

The Nabob's giving up the duties on all trade in the country, is evidently designed to undermine and destroy the privileges which the English enjoy by the King's Firmaund, and Mr. Batson thinks that he has been encouraged in this and several other schemes prejudicial to the English, by a faction of Armenians, and others, from private and corrupt views; and that therefore we should take the most effectual methods to prevent this scheme from taking place. What has been urged by some gentlemen, that the Nabob has a right to do what he pleases in his own country, would better become his Vackeels than members of this Board.

Mr. Batson thinks we should oppose to the utmost all his attempts against the English interests.

Mr. Amyatt's Opinion.

Mr. Amyatt coincides in opinion with Messrs. Marriot and Hay.

The President's and Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

In our letter to the Board of the 15th of December from Mongheer, it is noticed, that the Nabob had declared his resolution to take off all customs, and lay trade entirely open, in case the disputes between us concerning the customs on the private inland trade, could not be amicably settled, and we insist on carrying it on, free of duties. The reasons he gave for this resolution are these mentioned, viz. "That if we thought our privileges extended
 " so far, and would carry on our trade in all ar-
 " ticles, free of custom, of course the country
 " merchants could have but little share, and the
 " duties proceeding therefrom would be so inconfi-
 " derable, that he thought it would be more for
 " the advantage of his revenues to encourage the
 " merchants in general, by an entire abolition of
 " all customs, which would remove at once the
 " principal cause of the disputes between him and
 " us." We added in the same letter, that we had dissuaded the Nabob from this measure, lest it should prejudice the Company's business, by enhancing the number of purchasers, and rendering the dustucks useless, and mentioned this as an argument why we ought to consent to pay customs in our private inland trade, not to risque hurting the Company's interests for our own particular advantage.

It has, however, been determined by the majority of the Board, that we shall trade in all articles,
 custom

custom free, as well from place to place in the country, in commodities produced in the country, as in foreign imports and commodities for exportation, which resolution being declared to the Nabob, he, on his part, had determined to take off customs in general, and lay trade entirely open.

We cannot think him to blame in this proceeding, nor do we see how he could do otherwise: For although it may be for our interest to determine that we will have all the trade in our hands, that we will employ our own people to make salt, take every article of the produce of the country off the ground at the first hand, and afterwards send it where we please, free of customs; we say, though it may be for our interest to make this unlimited use of our force, yet it is not expected the Nabob will join with us in endeavouring to deprive every merchant of the country of the means of carrying on their business, which must undoubtedly soon be the case, if they are obliged to pay heavy duties, and we trade in every article on the footing before mentioned. Neither in our opinion could the Nabob in such circumstances collect enough to pay the expence of the chockeys, collectors, &c. so that trade would be liable to clogs and interruptions without any benefit to the Government.

As to the Nabob's right to lay trade open, it is our opinion that the Nazim of every province has a right to do any thing for the relief of the merchants trading under his protection, without waiting any order from the Court. Besides, there is at this time no Court, nor King, nor has been for some years, and therefore the Nazims must of necessity manage their several Governments as they shall judge best for the general good.

And if either the Nabob, Serajah Dowla, Jaffier Aly Cawn, or Cossim Aly Cawn, have a right to give up to us those duties which their

predecessors received, or permit us to trade in articles we were before excluded from, of course they have a right also to make regulations in favour of trade in general.

We therefore think that all we have to do on this occasion is, to take such precautions as may prevent this order from prejudicing the Company's investments, by seeing that the weavers employed in that service are not engaged or taken away by other merchants, which is a right we have always exercised, and this being done, we hope the present regulation, instead of being a prejudice to the Company's business, may be an advantage to it, as well as to the country in general, by rendering the necessities of life cheaper, and particularly those of the poorer sort, as rice, salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, &c.

Opinions of the Majority.

It being the opinion of the Board, That the revoking of the above mentioned Sunnuds be a point insisted upon from the Nabob.

Resolution in Consequence.

Agreed, That an additional paragraph be added accordingly to the instructions given Messrs. Amyatt and Hay.

Q 4.—*Extract of Consultation of the 28th of March 1763.*

Messrs. Johnstone and Hay's Minute.

Messrs. Johnstone and Hay propose, That it should be made an article in the instructions to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, to enquire of the Nabob what his meaning is, when he says that Mr. Vansittart's own particular Gomastah shall be excused
the

the duty laid on the trade of the Company from one part of the country to the other, in case they produce Mr. Vansittart's public or private dustuck; for as this affair now stands represented, it will appear, that a private agreement has been entered into between Mr. Vansittart and the Nabob, to put all that trade into Mr. Vansittart's hands, which the rest of the English were deprived of by the treaty laid before the Board, and as the order of the Nabob to Mahomed Aly appeared before the Board's disapprobation was known to the Nabob, consequently the Company will expect to have it enquired into.

Q 4. a — The President's Minute.

The President desires it may be minuted, That he is the first to desire such an enquiry may be made, and in the mean time, that he can refer to the papers he delivered into Council the 1st of February last, to prove that he was the first to give orders to his Agents to pay the duties agreed on, and to that very letter of the Nabob's to Mahomed Aly, read in consultation the 2d of March, (from which those gentlemen have taken their observation) to prove that his business was stopped as soon as others, after the regulations, not only in his private inland trade, on which he agreed to pay nine per cent. duties, but also in the cloth trade, provided for him by a dustuck, and it is in direct reference to this last circumstance, that the Nabob says, "If the said Gomastah has the Company's
" or the Governor's own dustuck, you are not to
" impede him." As a further proof that the President never desired any such order from the Nabob, he lays before the Board the following extract of a letter, which he wrote to the Nabob on the subject the 6th of March.

“ Your Excellency’s Perwâna, which was sent
 “ to Mahomed Aly Bêg, I received a copy of, be-
 “ ing delivered to me by the Chief of Dacca. In
 “ it there are many injunctions for his insisting
 “ upon duties agreeable to the paper of regula-
 “ tions, and likewise that notwithstanding in the
 “ paper of regulations, there is no mention of
 “ public and private, yet because I am your trust-
 “ ty friend, he is not to interrupt the Goma-
 “ stahs of my private trade, who may have either
 “ my own, or the Company’s dustuck along
 “ with them. My name is not once mentioned
 “ in the written security or in the paper of regu-
 “ lations ; that is to say, the letter which I ad-
 “ dressed to you in answer to your Excellency’s
 “ Perwâna, in order to put an end to the di-
 “ sturbances between your Officers and the Eng-
 “ lish Gomastahs. Since by the villany of Ma-
 “ homed Aly Bêg, Syed Jelaul Bocary, and other
 “ Officers of your Government, greater disturb-
 “ ances than the former have come to pass, the
 “ regulations I addressed you can never be al-
 “ lowed to take place, and this I represented to
 “ you in a former address.

“ You are pleased to give an order not to inter-
 “ rupt my private trade, which may have either
 “ my own or the Company’s dustuck along with
 “ it. All the validity that my dustucks have is
 “ on account of the Company, and they have
 “ been current as well for the business of the other
 “ gentlemen as for my own, from time out of
 “ mind. My address to you was to this pur-
 “ pose, that you would by no means impede the
 “ trade of the English, not for my own pri-
 “ vate trade, since that my own traffick and the
 “ other gentlemens, is upon the same footing. By
 “ particularizing me with such favours in your
 “ letter,

“ letter, you give people an opportunity of hurting my reputation.”

That as this is not the first instance of Messrs. Johnstone and Hay's endeavouring to scandalize his character, there is no room for his being surprized at it.

R 4.—On the 30th of March, the President received two letters from the Nabob, complaining of the injuries done him by the Board, and the insults to which he was daily exposed, in very warm and expressive terms; and the next day a letter arrived from the gentlemen at Patna, giving an account of a skirmish between fifty of our Seapoys and some of the Nabob's people near Gyah. These letters were as follows.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.

Dated 22d of March 1763.

YOUR agreeable letter in answer to what I wrote you is arrived, and I understand the contents, viz. “ You laid my two letters before the rest of the Council, from perusal of which it appeared to you and the whole Board, that notwithstanding all the injury Mahomed Aly Bêg and others had been the cause of, yet I am unwilling to examine into it, and concern myself in the clearing it up; wherefore you write me the particulars of your resolves, as follows.

“ You carefully perused the Royal Firmaund, &c. from which you understand that the English are to trade with the Company's dustuck, duty free, every where in ports, and also in inland places, by land, and by water, throughout the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa;

“ the approved and steady resolution of the whole
 “ Board, upon which it is to act, agreeable to the
 “ Firmaund of your Sunnuds.

“ But in examining this matter you ob-
 “ served, that upon some certain articles it was
 “ customary in some certain places to give a cer-
 “ tain consideration; upon tobacco in two places,
 “ namely, Dacca, and Luckypoor; neither you
 “ nor the rest of the Council are desirous of an-
 “ nulling an established rule; and upon salt you
 “ will let me have $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Should my Officers injure the English
 “ Gomastahs, the English Gomastahs are to
 “ represent their grievances to the Chief of a
 “ factory, which he is to determine without fa-
 “ vour or affection.

“ All losses that have arisen to the Gentlemen,
 “ through the oppressions of my Officers, upon
 “ proof you lay me under the necessity of making
 “ good to you. But until my Officers receive or-
 “ ders that the agreement between you and me is
 “ not to take effect, they will not refrain from in-
 “ justice; I must therefore return you the letter
 “ of agreement betwixt you and me, and write to
 “ all my Officers that I have returned it.”

Before this, I sent for Mahomed Aly Bég, in order to enquire into particulars. All whatever you may have paid him by way of custom, either in money or merchandize, and can send me his own sealed receipts for, I will make him repay in money to the amount, and will severely punish him.

You and the rest of the Board, in conformity to the Firmaund, Hufbulhookums and Sunnuds, are willing to give me something upon tobacco in two places, namely Dacca, and Luckypoor, and let me have $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon salt. Why should you take upon yourself so great a hardship? As I never got
 any

any thing by collecting duties, and they are a cause of endless disputes between us, I have entirely put a stop to collecting customs.

I am not ignorant of the nature of your Firmaunds and Husbulhookums, I have been twenty or thirty years in Bengal, and am perfectly acquainted with every article in them.

But not to go so far back. In the time of the Nabob Jaffier Cawn, when notwithstanding I stood your friend, it was a difficulty to get ten or twenty timbers from Chittagong for building your houses, then what was become of your Firmaunds and Husbulhookums? And at this present, that I am Nabob where are they come from?

You are resolved, that the determination of all disputes with my Officers shall rest in the power of the Chiefs of your factories. The justice of the Chiefs of your factories, is this; they abuse and beat my Officers, and carry them away bound.

With respect to your writing me, to make good in money the losses the Gentlemen have sustained: In the provinces of my Government, half is land-rents, and half is in customs. You have taken half the country, and by your favour, I have not reaped so much as a single farthing on account of the customs, and the half of the land-rents which remains, goes to the payment of my Seapoys. Any other person, therefore, that you can pitch upon, you will agree with for the making good your losses.

You demanded a Perwana to all my Officers. A copy both of a Perwâna, and a Sunnud for exemption of duties, which I wrote to every one of my Officers, is sent inclosed to you. If any of my Officers shall act contrary to my order therein signified, he shall be punished.

You write me to send you back the agreement made between us. The only agreement you made
with

with me, is a letter you wrote to me, which I send back, agreeable to your directions.

If the former treaty on which I depended, is of no use to me, and I have not passed a single moment free from trouble and dispute, will a fresh treaty be of use to me? If you write to me for the former treaty it shall also be sent to you.

R. 4. a.—*Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.*

Dated 15 March 1763.

YOUR favour, dated 15th of Shabaun, is arrived, and I am happy with the news of your welfare. The copy of Rajah Nobit Roy's letter which was inclosed, I have also received and read. You write me that, "It is plain from " Rajah Nobit Roy's letter, that I demand duties " upon opium; that your right to trade in this, " is founded upon the royal Firmaund, Hufbul- " hookums, and former Sunnuds, which with all " other rights and privileges, the English are re- " solved stedfastly to maintain, nor suffer any in- " fringement; that you will send me copies of the " Firmaund and Sunnuds, by Mr. Amyatt. That " I must write to all my Officers, and Fougedars, " that trade may be carried on as usual; also in " case of my delaying to do so, a rupture would " happen between me and the English."

The affair of duties is as follows: on account of the oppression of the English Gomastahs, there has not as much as a single farthing been collected by way of duties. Nay, so far from it, you have combined with some of my people, and taken penalties from others. And many merchants, who ought to pay customs, have carried their good duty-

duty-free through your protection. Upon this account I have entirely given up the collection of duties, and removed all chockeys wheresoever established. For why should I subject my character to be reproached without cause, on account of duties? If any one of my people shall insist upon duties, I will severely punish him.

As to what you write of your grounding your rights upon the Firmaund and former Sunnuds. I have been twenty or thirty years in this Country and am perfectly well acquainted with the nature thereof. But you ought to remember that your Gomastahs, until the time of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, traded only in some certain articles. Nay, although I stood your friend, you were unable to provide ten or twenty timbers from Chit-tagong for building; but now in my administration, your Gomastahs make so many disturbances, and are guilty of so great injuries, that I cannot enumerate them. Judge therefore, from these circumstances, who is the oppressor, and who the oppressed.

You write, that in case of my delaying to send orders to my Officers, a rupture must happen between us. It was needless for you to write this to me, since before your letter, Mr. Ellis never let slip any opportunity of bringing about a rupture, and shewing his ill-will to me, and brought the affairs to this length. Nor has he ever omitted any occasion of perplexing my affairs, and disgracing my Officers. Why need I continue to repeat these things to you?

It is the custom of Europeans to change their Chief every three years. As three years of my being Nazim are almost expired, and you have never had any pretence on account of my backwardness, therefore with a view to effect a change and turn me out, you have been raising all these

these disputes and alterations, and have written to your Gomastahs to commit disturbances and ravages in my Country, and have sent troops to beat, bind, and confine, and carry off my Officers, expecting that I would accordingly make some stir, and you might be furnished with a pretence against me.

S 4.—Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna to the Board.

Dated 23 March 1763.

WE have now to acquaint you with an affair, which will further explain the intentions of the Nabob, and shew that they are not merely confined to the collection of duties on our trade.

A Subadar, about the beginning of this month, had permission to go and worship at Gyah, and was furnished with a dustuck from the Chief, another from Nobit Roy, and a letter from the latter to the Fougedar of that place, to prevent his meeting with any insults; but notwithstanding these precautions, he was made a prisoner. The Chief, upon being informed of it, sent fifty Seapoys to release him, and seize the offender, which they effected, but were the next day surrounded in a house by about 4,000 of the Nabob's troops from Tekarry. The Subadar asked their intentions, and told them he had no orders to molest any person. The commander replied, it was the Nabob's orders to cut every English Seapoy to pieces, wherever they were found; the Subadar told him, he would not submit so tamely. After much altercation, the Nabob's officers agreed to let them go away, provided they would deliver up their arms and cloaths; but they being absolutely re-

fused

fused by the Subadar, the Nabob's people began to fire on them, and throw combustibles into the house, by which a Havildar was killed, and a few Seapoys wounded. Our people then, and not before, returned their fire and defended themselves till evening, when they marched out of the house, bringing their wounded with them, and arrived here this morning, without any further loss.

The people who were the original instruments of this mischief, by seizing the Subadar, escaped during the fray, and in the present situation of affairs, we cannot spare a force sufficient to chastize their insolence; but we doubt not you will resent it in such a manner as shall deter the Nabob and his officers from acting so in future.

The city is still in the same uproar and confusion, and all business, but that of war, at a stand.

T 4.—*Extract of Consultation of the 1st of April 1763.*

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

The Nabob's letters appear to me to contain little else than evasions and insolences. His conduct for many months past, has been such, that there is little room left to doubt his intentions, which are to distress the English, and to depreciate their character, power, and interest in these Provinces, and I am sorry to say, he has almost accomplished them. It is natural to conclude, that a man raised to the Subaship, and supported by them to the utmost, contrary to the inclinations of the King, and great men of the Country, would have some regard for their interest, if not some friendship for the English; but his conduct proves the contrary, and the step he has pursued in taking
off

off all duties, is, and will be the greatest detriment to the Company, and the English. His refusing to see Mr. Amyatt, I deem an insult. His letter bids us defiance; the preparation he is making every where, and the readiness he shews to quarrel with us, have produced an entire stoppage to trade.

Mr. Watts is therefore of opinion, that a letter be wrote to the Nabob, insisting on his recalling the orders for not levying the duties, and that the trade of the Country be carried on as formerly; that if he will comply with this, Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should proceed to him to settle any other points but if on the contrary, That we do ourselves justice, and take that satisfaction by force, for the many insults he has put upon us, which he refused to give, and that orders be given to the army to hold in readiness to march.

Mr. Marriott's Opinion.

Mr. Marriott is of opinion, that the Nabob's letters are wrote in a very improper and indecent stile, and that he shews throughout great distrust and diffidence in us; that notwithstanding he thinks, from the Nabob's actions, and letters, particularly these last, we should be fully justified in coming to an open war with him, yet a revolution is of such a nature, and must be attended with such bad consequences to our character and reputation, if not to our interest, that it is the last thing to be wished for; he therefore thinks a letter should be wrote to the Nabob, informing him that there are a number of articles to be communicated to him by Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, besides that of duties, for the welfare and interest of the Company and his own Government. That if he has the thoughts of either at heart, he should assent to Messrs.

Amyatt

Amyatt and Hay's coming upon this occasion. That our troops have never acted but when his Officers had directly stopped our business. That we once more assure him of our willingness to protect him on all occasions in his just rights, and that we never had an intention of setting up a competitor against him, that without he will allow us to remove his suspicions and jealousies, by an interview of two members of the Board, it will be impossible for us to act otherwise, than against a declared enemy, which we shall then unwillingly be obliged to, for the preservation of our rights and privileges.

That in the meantime Messrs. Amyatt and Hay might be requested to proceed up as far as Cossimbuzar, and there wait till we received the Nabob's answer; if that answer should not desire an immediate interview with Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, or be the least evasive, that the army should march up and act against him as an enemy.

Mr. Hay's Opinion.

The Nabob's conduct for near a twelve month past, and particularly the method of redressing our grievances when applied to for that purpose, and his letters throughout, which point out the situation in which he thinks we ought to be kept, and his notions of the privileges which we enjoy by grant and treaty, fully declare his resolution to give us no satisfaction for the losses we have sustained by the unjust conduct of his Officers, or to treat with us about these affairs, or receive the deputation proposed by us, to be sent him for the adjustment of them. These together convince me, was the consequence of a rupture with the Nabob ever so doubtful, that it would be our interest, and the best measure that could be pursued, immediately

mediately to march against him, before he could do the Country much harm, or be prepared to perpetrate our ruin, which, no doubt, he would, were it in his power, and I imagine by his late conduct, he thinks it is. By comparing the condition of his army and ours, I think it can hardly be doubted but a war between us must end in his immediate ruin ; although he should employ his whole art for some months to strengthen himself.

It is reasonable to think, that any other person in the Nabob's situation would be jealous of us, as we continue to hold the possessions we have in the Country, and that nothing but our having a sufficient force or reputation in the Country can keep them to us. These have, in my opinion, both been greatly lessened by a very bad policy in making the Nabob too great, for as his power increases, so in comparison ours does diminish. But, our reputation has suffered much more than our power by the means ; for, by giving up to the Nabob those that we had promised to protect, and seeing him, without ever making a remonstrance, ruining almost every person in the Country that had ever any connection with the English, and making them promise never to have any, under severe penalties ; we have entirely lost that reputation which we had, of being persons of honour, whose words and promises might, in all cases, be depended on, and which received such great and irreparable hurt by the last revolution. This kind of reputation, which we have so much suffered in, is not only very desirable, but highly useful ; but that kind of reputation which we had of being masters of the Country when we pleased, would be equally, if not more useful to us, in keeping us in possession of our lands and rights, and preventing us from numberless broils, which a contrary opinion will bring on us, and this has
equally

equally been hurt by our policy; for the people in the Country can never think that our conduct proceeded from any other cause, than an inability to help ourselves, or act otherwise.

Having considered this, and that it may be of service to our reputation, and in some measure recover us from the imputation of being unfaithful to our engagements, to endeavour all in our power (even by delay, which might be of the most fatal consequence, was it not for the superiority that we have at present) to bring about an adjustment of affairs with the Nabob, on such terms as have been proposed before, which I hope will sufficiently prevent it's being thought in the country that we are altogether dependent on the Nabob. I therefore agree with Mr. Marriot in what he proposes to effect it.

Mr. Johnstone's Opinion.

There is scarce a man in the province that ever had any attachment to the English, or any connection or dependence on them, but has been marked out on that account, and sacrificed by the Nabob, through his jealousy and hatred to us, in so much, that it cannot be said we have now left one friend in the country, nor any to give us the least intelligence of what passes, relative to us, in these times of trouble; all we learn is through our Chief and Council at Patna.

The proceedings of the Nabob in turning off our troops, the stoppage and impediments thrown in the way of our trade since July last, without the removal or punishment of any of the authors of these losses and disturbances; the insolent orders he every where issued, to turn every Englishman out of the country that refused obedience to the late regulations; the violences and oppressions to

which his Officers proceeded in consequence, in which he both justifies and supports them by force of arms ; the order he has issued for collecting 9 per cent. duty on opium, and on goods purchased, that are produced in the country, without any distinction, whether for exports or inland trade ; the contemptible light in which he considers the Company's rights in virtue of their royal grants, and the late treaties ; and the intentions he has shewn of reducing and confining our trade to as narrow limits, and under as great difficulties, as those we laboured under before the revolution ; and the open attempt he has now made to injure the Company's trade, by undermining their privileges, and rendering them of no effect, in presuming, of his unwarranted authority, to take off all duties ; the attack he ordered to be made on our factory and Seapoys near Taagepoor, and his justifying the same, and declaring his resolution of opposing force by force on the like occasions ; and the public threats he has made use of before the Gomastah, of extirpating the English, if ever they presumed to act against his Aumils in future, though he had been previously informed from the Board, that our Chiefs would act by their authority, in freeing our trade where stopped, or in repelling any insults or abuses of his Officers ; the stopping and imprisoning our Subadar, though furnished with the Company's dustuck, and attacking and killing our people sent to relieve him, which agrees perfectly with his own declaration in his letter, that he considers things already brought to a rupture ; the Nabob's disinclination of entering into any new treaty, to adjust these disputes ; the slight and disdain he shows for that treaty, by which he holds his Subahship ; his express declaration to Mr. Amyatt, that he had better keep away, than come to talk upon business ; the preparations

parations that we are informed from Patna, Moorshedabad, and Dacca, he is every where making for war, without having given us satisfaction, or any reasons to hope that he will give us satisfaction, on any of the points we have laid down and insisted on : All these circumstances, with the stile and purport of his six last letters, which bid us defiance in the most insolent and ungrateful manner, make me entirely of opinion, that the Nabob looks upon us as his enemies, and waits his opportunity of ruining us, that from his aversion to any advances to settle these quarrels, or credit any assurances we have given him of our peaceable intentions, the mutual confidence that ought to subsist between us (and without which we must ever be in a state of war, though it be not publicly declared) is now lost, without any well-grounded hope of its being restored, which does, and must tend to the ruin of all commerce ; and therefore I can neither think it safe nor honourable, or that, in the Nabob's present disposition towards us, it can produce any good effect, that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should proceed on the deputation, and till the Nabob by his behaviour shews as great desire and willingness to prevent things coming to extremes, by condescensions very different from any he has made, our own honour, and the interest and security of our Honourable masters affairs, would dictate to us to adopt and pursue more vigorous measures, and order the army to be held in readiness to march.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

Though I do not approve of the regulations which have been resolved upon by the majority of the Board, yet since they are to take place, and the disputes with the Nabob upon the subjects which

gave occasion to them, have been carried on to so great a height, I think it necessary that they should be delivered and explained to him by a deputation from the Board, and that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should therefore proceed as before directed on that commission.

The Nabob has expressed a desire to see Mr. Amyatt, and makes no other objection to a conference with him on the affairs which have been lately debated at the Board, than his desire to avoid every subject of contention, having with that intent consented to such of the articles as he has been made acquainted with. But if he has exceeded the intention of the Board, or not sufficiently answered their expectations, it is the more necessary that some gentlemen be deputed to confer with him in person upon them; it being a known truth, that more may be effected by a personal negotiation in one day, than in a month by letters.

As to the other part of the question, which I shall take the liberty to understand in the terms in which it was first proposed, viz. “Whether the “army should march against the Nabob:” I declare my entire dissent to so violent a measure, which no pretence of necessity can require, nor justice allow of.

It is unnecessary, because it is not in the Nabob’s power to oppose any laws which we may present to him, and the orders lately sent to the subordinate factories are sufficient to preserve them in full force.

The same reasons might be urged in proof of its injustice, were there no other against it; but when the Nabob has declared his submission to every term which you have imposed upon him, and expostulates only for his life, whatever his motive be, whether of choice or necessity, surely we may rest satisfied with such a condescension, nor attempt to reduce him

him to a lower state of humiliation. I shall not (I hope I need not) remind you, gentlemen, of the earnest injunctions of the Company, to abide by our engagements with the Nabob, and to avoid, to the last extremity, every occasion that may tend to another change in the Government. But should it be resolved to break with the Nabob, I hope such gentlemen as are of that sentiment will declare it before the last dispatches are made to Europe, that our Honourable Masters may have as early notice of it as possible, and take the speediest measures to remedy (if possible) the disorders which may follow from it.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

Mr. Cartier esteems the Nabob's letters as insolent and equivocating, and far from giving us that satisfaction which we have reason to expect from him. That they require clearness, and leave doubtful as to his real intention towards us; that his compliance with our demands in those points we have insisted upon him, of which he makes a matter of much merit, is a contemptuous manner of proceeding, having effectually undone to us the advantages of this very compliance, and rendered our valuable privileges void, by a general indulgence granted to his subjects and others, of a free trade; that his letter to Mr. Amyatt neither consents to, nor absolutely refuses the visit the Board have thought proper should be made him; that it is necessary he be made fully acquainted with the purport of this visit, “ That the suspicions harboured
“ in his mind may be banished, and give place to
“ that hope and confidence he ought to hold of
“ our particular attachment to him; to make him
“ sensible the good of his country, and his own
“ particularly, is in every respect intended by it;
“ that our intentions extend no further but to the
“ support

“ support of our rights and privileges, in which it
 “ would be more becoming him to join with us
 “ than to be offended at, and oppose those steps
 “ which we are necessarily led to take to punish
 “ those that invade them; that Mr. Amyatt, for
 “ all those desirable ends, intends to set out, and
 “ will wait the result of these representations at
 “ Coſſimbuzar, and be governed by his answer :”

That in case of meeting a refusal to this visit, we shall be justified in the opinion of the world, if we consider him the declared enemy of our nation, and proceed immediately against him.

It is certainly becoming in the members of this Board to pursue every honourable method that may tend to effect a perfect reconciliation with the Nabob, and every one that would conduce to that end ought not to be neglected or left untried. Our late revolution has done us, he believes, not much honour in the eyes of the world; and another so quickly succeeding, would prove in some measure the inconstant wavering state of our Councils, and motives of action be imputed to the members of this Board, unbecoming gentlemen and honest men to be influenced by. He therefore thinks it necessary to acquaint the Nabob of our having force sufficient to take every satisfaction required, but with no design to use it against his Government, 'till his refractory behaviour absolutely compels us.

Mr. Billers's Opinion.

Having carefully examined the Nabob's letter, as well as that to Mr. Amyatt, I think there are many expressions in the former injurious and improper, but they seem to be mentioned rather through pet and passion than any intention of quarrelling with us. I therefore give it as my opinion, that the necessity there is of Messrs. Amyatt and Hay's
 4 going

going to negotiate ought to be again represented to him. That at present his affairs suffer more than our's, and that it is absolutely necessary he should come to some determination; but should he refuse to treat with us, or hear any thing relative to business, then it may be deemed an open declaration of war. But without further cause than we have at present, I see no need of breaking with him; and as the Company have thought proper to confirm him, we ought to be very cautious how we take such a step, and bring about another revolution, for we seem at present somewhat obnoxious in the eyes of the country people, on having concluded the last. However, our rights and privileges have been lately so infringed, and things so circumstanced, that it is highly necessary some speedy remedy should take place. I therefore think Messrs. Amyatt and Hay might proceed to Cossimbuzar, and there wait the Nabob's final resolves; and in case he still persists in refusing to see those gentlemen, the army should march; but all methods ought to be tried to bring affairs to an amicable issue, for the reasons before mentioned.

Mr. Batson's Opinion.

The Nabob's settled inveteracy and evil designs against us, have long been manifest to the whole country, but of late they have appeared more glaringly, both from his actions and from his letters, which are filled with scorn and defiance. Not to mention a multitude of instances which may be produced, I shall only take notice of his endeavours to undermine, and utterly destroy the privileges granted us by the King's Firmaund, by exempting all other merchants of whatever nation from paying duties, in order to put them on a level with us. His designs indeed are so evident, that the

constant artifice used by the President and Mr. Hastings to disguise the truth, and misrepresent matters of fact, cannot conceal them. The case at present seems to be this; either we must submit to be reduced to the situation in which we were during the time of Mohabut Jung and Serajah Dowla, or else we must oblige the Nabob to submit to us. The latter, I apprehend, from his late behaviour, we shall not be able to effect, unless we can make him feel our power; and I will never be accessory or consenting to any thing that may expose us to the danger of the former. It is my opinion therefore, that we should neglect no means of putting ourselves in the best posture of defence, that we may be ready to act in the most effectual manner; and that Major Adams be accordingly desired to hold himself in readiness to march whenever it be necessary. I think also that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should not proceed on their deputation, as the Nabob has absolutely refused to treat with them, and therefore, their going will only expose us to further contempt and derision; a large share of which we have already incurred. However, that the Nabob may still have an opportunity given him of remaining on amicable terms with us, I propose that our demands be once more fully stated to him by a letter, and that we insist on a direct compliance therewith, without evasion or subterfuge.

If he still refuses to comply, I think we should take our measures for crushing him; for as it is known, that he is raising troops, and making warlike preparations in all parts of the country, a further delay may be very dangerous.

Mr. Amyatt's Opinion.

I think the Nabob's letters shew the same state of mind which he always seemed to express, and discover

cover by his actions ever since he has been in the Government; and no further than might well be expected from him, from having been so long suffered to follow his own will, and his whims indulged to appease his jealousies, general complaints admitted against our servants, when the expressions which we now experience have been on his part, our business stopped, and almost every where impeded without our exerting our influence and power to clear it, because we would not give him offence or make him uneasy. To most of these grievances and concessions, myself, with several members of the Board have often objected and remonstrated, foreseeing that in the end it must create the animosity and ill will which now is come to pass; and that we should be necessitated by force to assert our own rights, which he had been so long endeavouring to subvert.

I am too sensible that the people of the Government are not to be so far trusted as to have any point given up to them. A compliance in the most trivial matters gives them a privilege, they think, to exercise their authority without controul in every thing, though of ever so much consequence and detriment to the condescending party. Such being the prepossessions of the Nabob's mind, our insisting on a free exertion of our rights and privileges, now appears to him as an encroachment on his liberties, and a loss to him in his duties, from our trade being extended.

For this way of thinking, however, he has no justice on his side, for the same trade in its different branches was carried on in his predecessor's time, though not to so great a degree, occasioned solely by the troubles and confusion the country was every where involved in. That the Nabob would gladly make himself independent of us, and always shewed such an inclination, endeavoured as much

as possible to throw off all connection with us, and attempted to destroy our influence with the country people, is very evident.

But vain are all these efforts, and to be suspected the advice of bad and evil persons about him for their own advantage, as most certainly he must be convinced his own strength cannot defend him from any attempt of a foreign power, or reduce us to that state of dependence he probably has been taught to believe. I am apt to believe that sentiments have also been instilled into him, that he might safely interrupt our private trade, and that we durst not offer to check him therein, whilst the Company's remained unmolested; whereas private trade should be as sacred as the Company's, and no distinction ever known; for that once obstructed, the Company's cannot long remain free, which plainly appears from what it has suffered through the course of these disputes, though I believe no such losses were intended by the Nabob.

The Nabob's letters are petulant and impertinent; they likewise contain invectives and defiance, but not of such nature as if he felt his own strength sufficient to break with us. I therefore think he ought to be wrote to once more, in the terms proposed by Mr. Marriott, to convince him of his error, in thinking that we have views to a change, and to insist on his receiving a deputation, as the only means left of preventing such an event. If he refuses so reasonable a demand, I think we may justly interpret the ill intentions to be on his side, and that we shall be justified to the world in taking the most vigorous and immediate measures for securing the trading interest of our Honourable Employers in these provinces.

As it seems to be the sentiment of the majority of the Board, I shall willingly proceed the length of Cossimbuzar, and there wait the Nabob's answer.

Major

Major Adams's Opinion.

Major Adams is of opinion, that the Nabob, by his letters to the Board, seems to have entertained jealousies that must be very prejudicial both to his own and the Company's affairs, and which cannot be removed but by seeing Mr. Amyatt, and therefore he should be wrote to by the Board to reconcile himself to the interview. In the mean time, he thinks it necessary that Mr. Amyatt should proceed to Cossimbuzar, and there wait the Nabob's answer; and if by it he still persists in his refusal of seeing Mr. Amyatt on business, the Major can think of no other method to bring him to reason than marching up the troops. Yet thinks if any other measures can be thought of to put a stop to the present confusion, and prevent a future scene of troubles in the country, they should be first tried.

The President's Opinion.

Although the Nabob's letters of the 22d of March do not contain a chearful and candid assent to the demands made upon him by the Board, yet he does not contradict nor refuse to comply with them. It is not to be wondered that he complains and remonstrates, and writes with ill humour, since it is certain that the privileges which the majority of the Board have resolved now to insist on, are greater than ever were before insisted on, or than we were ever admitted to by any former Nabob, even Jaffier Aly Cawn, who positively refused to let us have a factory at Chittagong, much less would he permit us to carry on our trade, custom free, in all parts, and in all articles.

Supposing therefore that the demanded right be truly and really granted, and intended us by the Firmaund, which however is not my opinion, yet
with

with respect to the Nabob, the insisting on it is an innovation, which he may very naturally complain of, as it occasions a great loss in that part of the revenues proceeding from the customs; he says, indeed, an entire loss; for which reason, to avoid further disputes on the subject, he has given orders for taking off all customs in general.

Of this order the majority of the Board complains with equal vehemence, and have resolved to insist on his taking customs from other merchants in the usual manner, though not from us. This is to form part of the commission to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, as well as discussing the privileges of the Firmaund.

The second resolution of the Board has not yet been made known to the Nabob, who, conceiving there is nothing more to be said about customs after he has entirely abolished them, and having been advised from the Board that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay were deputed to regulate the affair of the customs, therefore he answers, that their coming is unnecessary. In every other respect, his letter to Mr. Amyatt is written in a handsome and suitable manner.

With respect to the present situation of affairs between us and the Nabob, it is this: Wherever the Company's business or that of their servants suffered any interruption, our forces have been employed to remove such obstructions, and seize those Officers of the Government who occasioned them. We have cleared our business, and taken our own satisfaction, and left the Nabob on the suffering side, and a very great sufferer he will undoubtedly be; for it is well known that the Zemindars, Collectors, and other Officers of the Country Government, when they see a likelihood of troubles, and their masters power on the decline, never fail to
make

make use of the opportunity of keeping back their rents.

The Nabob's letters are those of a despairing man, who has imagined to himself that the Board, or the majority of them, have determined at all events to overthrow his Government, let him do what he will, and submit never so patiently to their resolutions.

To this state of his mind many of the petulant expressions, and the anxiety which appears throughout his letters, should be attributed, and proper allowances made. While we are left in quiet possession of the countries assigned to the Company, and their trading business also is carried on in every part without interruption, it would be as impolitic as unjust to begin a war without necessity, against an ally whom we are bound by treaty to support, and of which the consequence would probably be a scene of fresh destruction in the country, a general interruption of trade, and a wanton effusion of blood.

That the Nabob has not the design of breaking with us, I think is plainly proved from his conduct, as well as from the expostulating style of his letters. It is not reasonable to take for granted every report made to us by an English Gomastah, or a discontented Officer of the Government. If he had a mind to break with us, he would certainly have attacked those three companies of Seapoys, with Lieutenant Downie, which were detached from Patna, and seized the Nabob's Officer at Mow, whilst the Nabob and his whole army was within a short march of the place; and if he had succeeded against those three companies, he would then have attacked our troops at Patna, to have endeavoured to have cut off so considerable a part of our force; instead of which, his retiring to Mongheer

is a proof with me that he will submit to any thing rather than come to hostilities with us, and I think we ought equally to desire to preserve the peace and tranquillity of the country, and amicably to accommodate the points in dispute, for which purpose I think no method so proper as the deputation proposed to discuss those points. The Nabob's saying, that if Mr. Amyatt's business is to dispute upon the articles of customs, he had better not come, as it is a point already settled by the abolishing of customs in general, is not, in my opinion, to be regarded as a refusal to treat with Mr. Amyatt, upon the matters contained in the instructions to Mr. Hay and him from the Board, and which, having never yet been communicated to the Nabob, it consequently cannot be said that he has refused to discuss them.

I think therefore that it would be most expedient to write to the Nabob, in answer to his last letter, to this effect: “ That the alarms in all parts
 “ of the country must be attended with a very
 “ great loss and detriment, both to his affairs and
 “ the Company's; and a breach of the friendship
 “ between us infallibly ensues, if the necessary regulations for the carrying on our business, and
 “ settling the points in dispute be not immediately
 “ concluded. That, as a proof of our desire to
 “ avoid coming to extremities, we appointed
 “ Messrs. Amyatt and Hay to confer with him, as
 “ the most effectual method of regulating affairs
 “ with dispatch; that he ought to regard such our
 “ appointment of two gentlemen of the Board, as
 “ the strongest mark of our friendship, and a compliment paid him; and that if he should refuse
 “ to treat with them, it can be regarded in no other
 “ light but as a declaration of his intention to come
 “ to a rupture with us.”

And

And I think Mr. Amyatt might himself write to the Nabob to the same purpose, and wait his answer either at Calcutta or Cossimbuzar.

But if the Board should determine that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should not proceed according to their appointment, then I think that a letter should be wrote to the Nabob, upon the plan of their instructions, demanding every thing thereby directed to be demanded, and requiring a plain, explicit, and final answer upon every article. It would be an unprecedented thing to employ force for the obtaining any point, until a friendly application has been made and rejected.

Opinion of the Majority.

The majority of the Board being of opinion, That the Nabob should be again wrote to, to insist on his receiving the intended deputation for treating upon business, and that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should proceed to and wait his answer at Cossimbuzar.

Resolution in consequence.

Agreed, That the President do address him to the effect expressed in his own and Mr. Marriott's minutes, and plainly acquaint him, that a refusal to comply with the demand therein contained can be regarded in no other light than a declaration on his side, of his intention to come to a rupture with us.

Messrs. Amyatt and Hay took their leave of the Board the 4th of April 1763. The following is a copy of the instructions that were given them.

U 4.—*Copy of the Instructions to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay.*

Dated 28th March 1763.

1st. **T**HE trade of our factories on behalf of the Company, as well as the inland trade carried on by the Agents and Gomastahs of English merchants, having for some months past met with the greatest interruptions in all parts of the country, from the Officers of the Nabob's Government, and this having further proved the source of numerous disputes and complaints on both sides, we have had under our consideration the settling of certain rules, agreeable to our respective rights and pretensions whereby to carry on our trade, and be the means of preventing such disputes from happening in future. In these points we have already come to some resolutions, and having the greatest reliance on your abilities, prudence and zeal, as well for the interest of our Honourable Masters as for the welfare and good of the community, we have thought proper to depute you to make known to the Nabob those resolutions.

2dly. In the first place, you must again acquaint the Nabob, that the regulations made with him by the President being disapproved, are of course become void, and you are therefore to re-demand the letter which contained them. You are also to insist, in case he has not before issued such orders, that he do revoke all the orders which he sent to his Officers in consequence of the said regulations, and inform them that trade is in every respect to go on in its usual channel, until he (the Nabob) has settled with you the business of your députation.

3dly.

3d, Accompanying this you will receive English and Persian copies of the Firmaund, Husbulhookums, and treaties on which we found our rights to a free trade. These we have concluded give us an indisputable privilege to carry on our trade, as well foreign as inland, throughout the provinces of this Subah, free of any duties to the Country Government. You must therefore carefully and clearly explain to the Nabob the tenor and substance of all these grants, and the justice that it follows we have on our side for abiding thereby.

4th, When you have fully asserted and convinced the Nabob of these our rights, and privileges, you will make known to him the resolution of the Council the 2d instant, for allowing him a duty on salt, with our motives thereto: 1st, Because from general information taken, it appears that this first article has from custom always paid a certain, though unsettled duty. 2dly, Because it is not our intention through a too scrupulous assertion of our rights, to detriment or diminish the revenues of the Government, or in any respect lessen to him the advantages reaped at our hands by his predecessors; that allowing these sentiments to weigh as far with us as our regard for the interests of our employers, and the community, and for the tenor of our said grants will possibly admit, we have resolved to allow him (the Nabob) a fixed duty on the article of salt, after the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the Rewâna price; but as we have no grounds for extending this consideration further, we cannot admit of duties being levied on any other article of trade whatever.

5th, To ascertain the payment of this duty, and at the same time maintain in its full force the authority of the English dustuck, the article of salt shall be circulated equally with other articles, by

the means of a dustuck, and be liable to no further scrutiny or interruption, provided the Buckshbunder or Shawbunder's receipt for the aforementioned duty, appears properly granted and entered on the back thereof.

6th, For regulating in future the conduct of our Agents and Gomastahs, and the Officers and dependents of the Nabob's Government, with respect to injuries committed on either side, and disputes which may arise between them; we have agreed on the following rules, which you must intimate to the Nabob, and as we think they will every way answer the ends proposed, you must acquaint him that they are therefore to be punctually observed.

[Here were entered the regulations agreed on in the Consultation of the 5th March.]

7th, The Nabob having lately affected an ignorance of the nature of this Government and the powers of the Council, the President in his answer endeavours to set him right on that head; but it will be still necessary that you again explain this matter personally to him by commission from the Board, that a future pretension of the like ignorance may not be the means of detrimmenting our affairs.

8th, There further appears in the course of his correspondence, certain expressions which imply a diffidence of the friendship of several members of the Council towards him. This ill founded suspicion you must use your most strenuous endeavours to remove; and on the contrary to convince him, that we shall always with one voice agree in every respect to assist and support him and his Government, provided no attempts are made towards the infringement of our rights and privileges; but that from a just observation of them, and a steady obedience to the repeated orders of our Honourable employers,

employers, we can never tamely put up with attempts that have in the smallest degree such a tendency.

9th, With respect to the regulations for trade, we think it will be the most proper method to have our rights acknowledged, and the proposals agreed to by some public writings under the Nabob's own hand and seal, taking care that there are no expressions inserted in it contrary to the sense we entertain of our rights by our former grants or treaties, or that may tend to invalidate them. To such a writing you may accede, reserving to us the power of finally ratifying the same.

10th, As we think it absolutely necessary, both for the interest of our affairs, and the Nabob's, to have a Gentleman in the service Resident at the Court; we have appointed Mr. Thomas Amphlett to accompany you on this deputation, and afterwards remain with the Nabob in that capacity. You will therefore introduce him to the Nabob accordingly, and acquaint him that all transactions between him and us, are after your departure to be carried on by this Resident; and that all orders which are to be issued through the country, relative to the English, must be first intimated to, and approved by him. At your departure, you will leave in charge to Mr. Amphlett, any part of these instructions which you will not be able to finish, and give him such further directions as you may think necessary.

11th, Having had repeated instances of the ill disposition and bad behaviour of Mahomed Aly, the collector of the Dacca districts, we have inclosed you a particular proof of it, in copies of letters which we wrote to Syed Buddul Cawn; and we must desire, that you will insist on his being dismissed from his office, and obliged to make re-

paration for all the losses he has been the occasion of, since the beginning of these disturbances.

12th, The orders by which we took possession of the lands, being only Amulnamahs; we must desire that you will apply to the Nabob for proper Jagheery Sunnuds, to confirm the Company's right to the three Provinces.

13th, You must likewise demand from the Nabob, payment of a sum of money which Mahomed Reza Cawn disbursed out of the revenues of the Chittagong province, on account of the Tippra expedition; to instruct you in which, we have ordered particulars to be transmitted you by the Accomptant of the committee of lands.

14th, Since we began to draw up these instructions, we have received intelligence of the Nabob's having published a Sunnud, containing an exemption of all duties on every kind of trade for the space of two years. Copies of this Sunnud, and a Parwâna, which accompanied it to Nobit Roy the Naib of Patna, you will herewith receive. And as we are of opinion that this step is taken with a design to prejudice the Company's trading business, and to counter-act the measures we have been hitherto taking for the welfare of trade in general, we desire that you will insist on the Nabob's revoking that Sunnud, and collecting duties as before.

15th, We further transmit you copy of a minute entered on this day by Messrs. Johnstone and Hay, and we desire you will make the enquiry therein recommended.

*Additional Instructions to Messrs. Amyatt
and Hay.*

Dated 1 April 1763.

THE last letters received from the Nabob having been debated on at the Board, and it being determined, that you shall proceed to Cossimbuzar, and there wait his answer to another letter the President has wrote him; we now address you these further instructions on some points, which have occurred since we concluded those before drawn up.

By letters from Patna, we are advised of the great want they are in of Siccas for carrying on the investment, and of the inconvenience and loss which arises from the exchange of money; we have likewise often received letters on this subject from Cossimbuzar, and the other factories: we therefore desire that you will endeavour to prevail on the Nabob to strike in his mints only one species of Rupees, to be current throughout his Government without any Batta, so long as they do not diminish in weight; but if you cannot effectuate such regulations, you must represent to the Nabob, in the strongest terms, the great impediment which our business suffers from the backwardness of the Shroffs, to exchange and circulate the Calcutta Siccas, and therefore get him to issue peremptory orders to the Shroffs and others, for effectuating the currency of Rupees coined in our mint, that our business may no longer suffer such interruptions and losses from this source; and also procure his order for coining three lacks of Rupees annually in each of the mints of Dacca and Patna, for the service of the factories.

We are informed of an attack made on a Subadar and fifty Seapoys, by a body of the Nabob's troops from Tekarry; for the particulars of the affair, we refer you to a copy of a Patna letter, which you will herewith receive, and we desire that you will require satisfaction against the Officer, who commanded them, for declaring he had the Nabob's orders to cut every English Seapoy to pieces wherever they were found,—for having the insolence to propose to our party, that he would let them go, if they would deliver up their arms and cloathing; and on their refusal for beginning an attack upon them, whereby an Havildar was killed, and four Seapoys wounded: you must further insist, that this satisfaction be a public and exemplary punishment before you, or else that he be delivered up to us, to be tried and punished.

We likewise transmit you some accounts of losses which certain Gentlemen have sustained in their trade, by the late disturbances and interruptions, the amount of which you must require of the Nabob to cause his Officers to make good, and whatever accounts of the same nature may hereafter be received, shall likewise be forwarded to you.

The President's Dissent.

The President observes, that although he signs these instruments in conformity to the majority of the Board, he dissents to the 3d and 14th paragraphs, which contains a claim of a right to a free trade in all articles, whether for foreign or inland trade, and orders for insisting on the Nabob's revoking the Sunnud for an exemption of duties, for the reasons more particularly mentioned in the consultation the 1st and 24th of March.

W 4. — Some time before this, Syed Buddul Cawn, the Nabob's Officer at Luckypoor, having placed a guard upon the house of one Mahomed Gazy, who had formerly been in the service of the factory; Mr. Middleton, the provisional Chief of the factory, wrote to him, desiring him to release the man, which Syed Buddul Cawn refused, and sent him a copy of an order, which he had received for that purpose from Mahomed Aly. In this order, besides the demands of the Government upon Mahomed Gazy (against which we could have had no objections) this extraordinary reason was added, for calling him to an account, that he had been in the English employ, and was abettor in their designs against the Government. The insolence of these expressions, determined the Board to take the part of Mahomed Gazy; and Mr. Middleton was accordingly directed to seize Syed Buddul Cawn, and send him to Calcutta; and at the same time a letter was wrote to the Nabob, insisting on his punishing Mahomed Aly. Mr. Middleton, in consequence of these orders, immediately seized Syed Buddul Cawn, and sent him a prisoner to Calcutta, where he arrived the latter end of the month of March; being brought before the Board, he exculpated himself, by producing several letters from Mahomed Aly; the most insolent of which is here inserted.

From Mahomed Aly to Syed Buddul Cawn.

YOUR agreeable letter is arrived. I fully understand the particulars contained therein, and from the Hircarah likewise I learn the account of the villanies of the English in Luckypoor. I have wrote pressingly to Aga Mahomed Nazim, and Samadam, and Amur Sing, and Jaugaut Sing,

Sing, to repair all of them with their people unto you; I have also sent Perwânas with the utmost dispatch unto the Zemindars of Bulwat, Baboopoor, &c. and I have taken engagements from every Zemindar's Vackeel, about Luckypoor, that their masters the Zemindars will attend upon you, and act as you sha'l direct them. It behoves you with the utmost dispatch, to repair thither immediately, and blockade the passages for going in, and coming out on all sides of Luckypoor, and place strong centinels, that no person whatever may pass or repass, to and from Luckypoor; and that a soul does not escape of those who claim the English protection, and make use of their name: take two or three and crucify them, and seize their houses and effects; lay hold of their wives and children, and send them straightway to me.

Be sure not to fail in this respect; his Excellency having honoured me with his orders to this purpose, as you must be informed from the copy of the Governor's engagement, and of his Excellency's Perwâna in consequence, which I heretofore sent you. And do not entertain the least diffidence: regard this my short letter, in the light of a thousand letters; and act accordingly. Moreover, let guards be placed to keep a good look-out about Luckypoor, and the parts adjacent; until the Nabob's orders arrive, when they will proceed to act, as I shall write to you: at present surround it on all sides, and keep a constant watch.

You will take extraordinary good care of the Europeans at Luckypoor, that they get no intelligence from any of their dependents, either by land or water, and for security you will send 200 men, with a commander whom you can rely upon, and direct them above all things, to be ready for action, both night and day.

Such

Such a declaration of his inveteracy to the English as was expressed in these letters, and the many instances which he had given of it throughout his whole conduct from his first appointment, justly excited the indignation of the whole Board against Mahomed Aly. The most violent readily seized this occasion to impute to the Nabob a fixed resolution of breaking with us; and that the appointment of such a man as Mahomed Aly with such extraordinary powers, and his conduct in the execution of them, were only in consequence of that resolution. It was therefore warmly urged, to prevent the Nabob's designs, by declaring immediate war against him. This sentiment, however, was opposed by a majority of the Board, who judged it the most proper in the present circumstances to regard the insults as proceeding personally from Mahomed Aly; and to chastize him for it ourselves, since the Nabob, to whom we had repeatedly complained against him, had hitherto afforded us no redress. In this alternative the President joined, as well in the hopes of yet preventing a ruinous and unjustifiable war, as from the conviction of the violent and incendiary spirit of Mahomed Aly, who, if suffered to act longer with impunity, he saw would put it out of the power of every one to preserve peace between the English and the Nabob. It is true that the Nabob, in answer to the demand of the Board for his dismissal, declared that he had removed him from his employment, and summoned him to his presence; but as he still continued at Dacca, and the Nabob had always endeavoured to vindicate his conduct, it was much to be feared that he would not only escape the punishment which was his due, but perhaps be continued in his authority, and have his hands strengthened with such fresh powers as might make it dangerous to attempt afterwards to call him to an account.

count. The Nabob's behaviour upon this occasion may be easily accounted for, from the precarious situation in which he stood with the English. He assured the President when at Mongheer, that if the complaints which were then alledged against Mahomed Aly, upon enquiry proved true, he would both dismiss him from his service, and severely punish him. The same promise he made with respect to Sheer Aly, (the Fougedar of Purnea) who had been guilty of the like enmity and misbehaviour to the English dependents; and it is very probable that he was sincere in his declaration, since his interest was most materially concerned in removing every cause of disagreement from between us. But when he perceived the strong opposition formed against him by the General Assembly of the Council, and the design of his enemies was levelled openly against his person and Government, it is not to be wondered at that he should be cautious of depriving himself of the assistance of persons the most capable of serving him, and on whose zeal he had so much reason to depend, in case of a rupture with the English. In a word, it appears from the Nabob's whole behaviour, from the time that the General Council was assembled, that he believed his own ruin to be the object of that assembly; and every step taken by the Board served but to confirm him the more strongly in that fatal persuasion. Fatal it must be called, since with such a mutual distrust every accident, however trifling, was easily construed into an intentional act of hostility; and even the necessary precautions of self-defence seemed but to make the breach irreparable. It will be needless to point out instances of the effects of these prepossessions, amongst the many which occur in the minutes of the Council, and the Nabob's letters, which have been already inserted. Of the latter, one need only be mentioned, as it shews how easily

easily the Nabob was led away by every groundless report, and how naturally his apprehensions disposed him to co-operate with the very measures which tended to an open rupture.

W 4. a—*Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.*

Dated April 15th 1763.

I Have to this time reposed an entire confidence in your friendship, but I never suspected that you would write me letters filled with professions of friendship and attachment, and whilst I remained in security, trusting to your declarations, that you would dispatch your forces in several divisions, by land and water, and through the hills and woods, with guns and artillery to these parts. This kind of proceeding I do not understand. I before repeatedly wrote to you that I was unequal to this business. You would not agree to it, and now, that such measures are taken, what sort of dealing is this? As to Mr. Amyatt's coming, which you wrote about before, I have no objection. Recal all your troops that you have dispatched by every road towards this way, and let Mr. Amyatt proceed hither in the same manner that you came to visit me, and after his arrival I will behave to him as becomes me.

If you consent not to this, and refuse to recal your forces, and are obstinately bent upon my dishonour, I am without remedy. Let me have your answer to this letter, which I wait for, for it is every man's duty to take care of his honour.

The following history occurring in the same order of time, aptly illustrates the truth of the above observation, and proves, that if the Nabob's fears led him to believe every idle report of designs that
had

had no existence, either in fact or probability; our faith was at least as active as his, whether fear or the zeal of party-spirit impelled and gave life to it. It is scarcely conceivable, that any person should be so blindly prejudiced as to give entire credit to a story of the Nabob's having ordered all the mulberry trees, and cotton shrubs in his country to be rooted up, from no other motive than a mere spite to the English; and to deprive them of the benefits which they enjoyed in common with other merchants in the product of those plants; yet so great was the eagerness of several members of the Board to catch at every report that tended to the Nabob's prejudice, that such an absurdity was readily believed, and the most violent measures proposed in consequence, as will appear by the following papers.

Extract of Consultation of the 12th of April, (present Messrs. Vansittart, Batson, Cartier, Hastings, Marriott, and Watts.)

Mr. Batson's Minute.

Mr. Batson lays before the Board the following letter from Mr. Chambers at Cossimbuzar.

To Stanlake Batson, Esq;

April 3, 1763.

S I R,

“ **T**HE many daily occurrences here, and re-
 “ ports convince me, our trade and every
 “ thing will speedily be put a stop to, if some
 “ measures are not taken to prevent it. There is
 “ an order passing for destroying all the mulberry
 “ trees in the country, and they have actually com-
 “ menced

“ menced putting it in execution, so that we can
“ expect no silk or silk-piece goods for the ensuing
“ year, if it is not put an immediate stop to.

“ I hear there is the same order concerning all
“ the cotton plants, which will be as detrimental
“ to the white-cloth trade. It is publicly talked
“ at the city, that the Nabob is determined to get
“ rid of us one way or other; that he has money
“ enough to pay his troops longer than we shall be
“ able to stay in the country without trade, for
“ which reason he'll destroy all the produce of the
“ country, which may furnish trade; for its all
“ one to him whether we are in the country or
“ not, if we don't pay him any duties, and he'll
“ either oblige us to do that or quit the country.

“ Several parties of horse and foot have arrived
“ at the city within these two or three days, and
“ great preparations are making for defence in case
“ our army comes this way, as it is reported they
“ are coming, and that they had marched a little
“ way and were recalled. I thought it proper to
“ acquaint you of the order concerning the mul-
“ berry trees and cotton, as I think the Governor
“ and Council should be acquainted therewith, by
“ which they'll perceive how our trade is likely
“ to be destroyed. The tom-toms have actually
“ been about with the orders, and several people
“ sent to destroy all the mulberry fields. Should
“ you think with me, it's necessary to acquaint
“ the Board with these things, I shall be obliged
“ to you if you will acquaint me with the result.

“ P. S. I think it would be highly necessary to
“ have a few more Seapoys at this factory. Reports
“ run very high and insolent, and I believe was the
“ army to march, we should be surrounded at
“ this factory, and therefore should be glad to
“ have a few seapoys to defend ourselves. The
“ arms

“ arms of the Seapoys here are very bad ; I wish
 “ you would apply for some.”

He also acquaints the Board, that immediately on receipt of this letter, he wrote an answer agreeable to the opinion of the members of Council then in Calcutta, desiring Mr. Chambers, if the intelligence he had given him was certain, to confirm the same in a letter to the Board, that they might take their resolutions accordingly.

Received a letter from Mr. Chambers, dated the 9th, acquainting us, in consequence of Mr. Batson's letter to him, that it was beyond all dispute that tomtoms have been beat in several places, by orders the Zilladars pretend to have received from the Nabob, to take up all the mulberry trees on both sides of the Great River; but he cannot say for certain that they have yet put it in execution.

The President's Opinion in consequence of these Letters.

As the intelligence contained in the public letter differs in some particulars from what Mr. Chambers before wrote to Mr. Batson, the President is of opinion, that Mr. Chambers should be directed to acquaint the Board from whence he got his intelligence regarding the mulberry trees, and to enquire, in the name of the Board, from Syed Mahomed Cawn, whether he has received letters from the Nabob to this effect; if he has, to require from him a copy of such orders, or endeavour by any other means to procure a copy, and transmit it to us.

Mr.

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

Mr. Watts thinks that the certainty of what Mr. Chambers informs the Board in his letter of the 9th instant, ought not to be doubted, especially as he had made an enquiry into the affair at the request of the majority of the Board; that the general behaviour of the Nabob has been, and continues to be such, that further application to himself or Officers on any points whatever, ought as much as possible to be avoided; but especially in this case, as Syed Mahomed Cawn must know that this information must come from our Chief and Council at Cossimbuzar, and consequently our doubting the truth of it, must lessen the credit of that Board in his eyes. Mr. Watts further thinks, that Mr. Chambers may be wrote to, directing him to endeavour to procure copies of the Sunnuds or Perwanas that may have been sent down from the Nabob on this subject, or any other proofs he may be able to get.

Mr. Marriott's Opinion.

Mr. Marriott agrees in opinion with the President.

Mr. Johnstone's Opinion.

Mr. Johnstone does not think it of any consequence to make this further enquiry, as Mr. Chambers having been wrote to at the desire of the majority of the members then in Calcutta, may be supposed to have satisfied himself of the truth of what he now publicly informs the Board, nor would Syed Mahomed Cawn's denying to have received such an order be any proof of the tomtoms not having been bear. Further, because he thinks the
other

other * pieces of intelligence which Mr. Chambers gave us in his letter may incline us more implicitly to the belief of this, and the certainty of the Nabob's intentions against us, which we must hear from Messrs. Amyatt and Hay before any answer could come from Mr. Chambers.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

Mr. Cartier thinks it would be proper to direct Mr. Chambers to enquire of Syed Mahomed Cawn whether he has received such an order from the Nabob, and to endeavour to get a copy of it.

Mr. Batson's Opinion.

Mr. Batson cannot doubt but the proclamation concerning cutting down the mulberry trees was actually made, and he thinks the President's seeming still to doubt it, and desiring a further enquiry to be made for the confirmation of it, is with a design to discourage Mr. Chambers from sending us intelligence. Agreeable to his practice in regard to the intelligence which he (Mr. Batson) formerly sent down in several of the Nabob's and Petruce's letters †.

Opinion

* That the Nabob had sent bodies of troops into different parts of the country, and was busy in warlike preparations.

† As the reflection contained in the latter part of Mr. Batson's minute will be judged to have required some reply, it may not be improper to insert an extract of the minute which followed, though foreign from the subject in hand. This may serve for one instance of the scandalous and indecent behaviour, which by the intemperance of some of the members, and the ready connivance of the rest, had taken place in our Councils.

The President's Question to Mr. Batson.

The President desires Mr. Batson may be asked, Whether, by several of the Nabob's and Petruce's letters, he means those
Persian

Opinion of the Majority.

The majority of the Board being of the President's opinion.

Resolution in consequence.

Agreed, that Mr. Chambers be wrote to accordingly *

Persian copies of letters said to be the Nabob's and Petruce's, read in consultation the 4th of March, and which, after prosecuting the enquiry for several months with the utmost attention, the Board judged to be not authentic.

Mr. Batson's Answer.

Mr. Batson answers. It is those letters he means, and that he doth not find, on pursuing the proceedings, that the Board did think them not authentic. And as the President has solemnly declared, that he knows nothing of Cawn Bahadres's coming to Calcutta, as related in that correspondence, he desires him to confirm the same by oath, otherwise he (Mr. Batson) shall continue to look on his declaration as false.

The President's Reply.

Although the President thinks it a very improper method of proceeding, that any member of the Board should be put to his oath on any occasion, excepting where the law requires it, and that the word of every member of the Board should be regarded as an oath, yet, for the satisfaction of the Company, in a matter where their interest is so much concerned, and in which Mr. Batson has called his (the President's) honour so much in question, he desires he may be put to his oath before the Board.

The President's Oath.

I do solemnly swear, that I never to my knowledge saw, or heard, of a man known by the name of Cawn Bahadra, nor did any man ever make to me such a proposal, nor did I ever hear of such a proposal, as he is said to have been commissioned with, until the copies of the Persian letters were arrived from Mr. Batson.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Chambers to the Governor and Council.

Dated April 16, 1763.

“ Your favour of the 12th instant I have duly received, in
“ answer to your question of whence I had my intelligence. I
“ can only say it came from the Vackeel, Kidderindee, and se-
“ veral other merchants, who, on hearing the report, acquaint-
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Notwithstanding the proposed negotiation, the Board judged it expedient to take early precautions in case it should not be attended with success, by forming a plan for the operations of the war. The resolutions upon the subject are here entered at large, and the debates which followed them. It is worth notice, that Mr. Johnstone made a proposal which was supported by Mr. Batson, for authorizing the gentlemen at Patna to begin the war upon the bare appearances of hostile intentions in the Nabob. The sentiments of Mr. Ellis were too well known to leave it a doubt, but he would instantly avail himself of such a power to declare an open rupture, which might have been justified even by the report of a common hircara, or any pretence as loose, which he might think sufficient (since he was the judge) to construe into a hostile intention in the Nabob. It will be found, that when such a power was afterwards lodged in his hands, such was actually the consequence.

Extract of Consultation the 14th of April 1763 (present Messrs. Vansittart, Adams, Batson, Billers, Cartier, Hastings, Johnstone, Marriott, and Watts.)

The Board being met to concert the measures proper to be taken in case that a rupture should

“ ed me of it, as did also a considerable dealer in that article,
 “ who says he was told, that in five days the mulberry trees
 “ must be all taken up, but he has heard nothing since; and
 “ I believe it was only a false report, occasioned, as I have
 “ since learnt, from a custom of transplanting once in two or
 “ three years. I asked Syed Mahomed Cawn concerning the
 “ order, he says he has received no such, nor given any. I have
 “ requested of him to endeavour to find out the persons who
 “ spread the report, and to punish them. The report was not
 “ only here, but on the other side the Great River. It will
 “ be impossible for me to trace it to the foundation, I have
 “ used already every method in my power, but in vain.”

happen

happen between us and the Nabob, the several cases were fully considered and debated on, and the following resolutions were in consequence planned and agreed to.

Although it is to be hoped, that the disputes with the Nabob will yet come to an amicable issue, it is thought necessary to be prepared with a plan of operations, which may be most expedient to insure success in case of a contrary event.

It is therefore resolved,

First, That in case of a rupture with the Nabob, and the Nabob should march towards Patna, in order to attack our troops and factories there, they shall endeavour to possess themselves of the city, if they think they can accomplish it without much loss, and there remain until they shall receive further orders from us or Major Adams. But if they should think that by attacking the city they run a risk of failing in the attack, or losing of many men, they must then take such post as they think they can best defend themselves in, and if they can, cover the factory until they shall receive further orders, as above mentioned. That in either case they must be careful to secure all the provisions they can of every kind, and also draught and carriage bullocks.

Secondly, That in case of a rupture with the Nabob, and he should remain at Mongheer, the Patna party shall act as in the first case.

Thirdly, That in case of a rupture, and the Nabob marches down this way, the Patna party shall, after attacking, and possessing themselves of the city, move down as far as Ruinulla, to be in greater readiness to join Major Adams, and there wait for orders from Major Adams, unless from an alteration of circumstances, their own discretion shall direct them to act otherwise.

That in any of the foregoing cases, these are our
N 2 present

present thoughts; but that we do not mean by such a plan to restrict them from taking any advantage that may offer, in case of a rupture declared.

This plan being settled for the Patna party in case of a rupture, the question is put.

How they shall be informed of a rupture, or what they shall construe as such?

Mr. Johnstone's Opinion.

Mr. Johnstone thinks the Nabob's stopping our communication by letter, and moving in consequence with his army and artillery towards Patna, when there is no other enemy in the country adjacent, against whom he may have cause to move, or ought in reason to be believed, that he directs his march, or the march of his army this way, attended by any correspondent acts of hostility of his forces stationed at, or round Patna, such as stopping their provision and communication with the country, or opposing our people in the execution of their business, might, in the present circumstances, be construed by them as a rupture, and that they might immediately proceed to act as directed in the plan.

The President's Opinion.

The President thinks Mr. Johnstone's proposal is extremely vague, and leaves it in the power of the gentlemen at Patna, by an error in judgment, to involve us in a war which we would rather avoid; and therefore would propose, that the orders to the gentlemen at Patna should be after this manner.

“ That they will be instantly informed by us, if we
 “ should be obliged to declare a rupture with the
 “ Nabob, and that therefore they must wait for
 “ such information before they act upon the plan
 “ laid down, keeping in the mean time well on
 “ their guard, and defending themselves and the
 “ Com-

“ Company’s rights against all attacks. That he
“ proposes these limited orders the rather, because
“ he looks upon the party at Patna to be of such a
“ strength as to run no risk from any attack of the
“ the Nabob’s.”

The question being put to the rest of the Board which of these opinions should be adopted.

The opinions of Messrs. Watts, Marriott, Hastings, Cartier, and Billers, agree to the President’s.

Mr. Batson’s Opinion.

Mr. Batson is of Mr. Johnstone’s opinion, because, after the Nabob has once commenced hostilities against us, the tying up our party at Patna from acting on the offensive, as well as the defensive, will give him an advantage, and subject us to a disadvantage, in cases of exigency that may happen.

Major Adams’s Opinion.

Major Adams thinks the gentlemen at Patna ought not to commence hostilities without the orders of the Board, but that, should the Nabob march a large force towards Patna, without any apparent reason, or otherwise commit any act of hostility, they should take any step for their own security, even to the taking the city of Patna, if it should be deemed absolutely necessary, and there defend themselves without proceeding further, until they receive the orders of the Board.

Opinion of the Majority, and Resolution in Consequence.

The Majority of the Board being of the President’s opinion. Agreed, that we write to Patna, and transmit them a copy of these resolutions for their Government.

Mr. Johnstone's Dissent.

Mr. Johnstone begs leave to dissent from this resolution of the majority, ordered to be transmitted to Patna, because he thinks the restraining the gentlemen there from acting offensively till they have notice from hence of our declaring a breach with the Nabob, although he may proceed to direct open acts of hostility against them, is giving the Nabob all the advantage he could desire, should his resolution be to attack that detachment the first, in hopes of overpowering it before our army can arrive to its assistance.

The very intention of our Council, Mr. Johnstone understood was, to prevent the ill consequences that might attend a stoppage of our correspondence by letter, by the Patna party not having directions how to act in case the Nabob began hostilities, and prevented our intelligence, by removing the dauks, and stopping all letters. Should the Nabob march towards Patna, we can expect no notice of it but from the Chief there, which, as the dauks will of course be removed, may very probably not reach us in less than ten or twelve days. As more may elapse before they receive the Board's declaration of a rupture, by which they are tied up at least twenty days, not to attempt any thing against the Nabob or the city of Patna, tho' their only hope of taking it depends on their attempting it before the Nabob can reach it, and their circumstances in regard to provision, and many other respects, may be such, as that their preservation may greatly depend on their carrying it. In war, to prevent and defeat the designs of an enemy, is allowed to be just as well as prudent; but this liberty, so essential to self-preservation, is denied to our fellow-servants, though ever so fair occasion may offer. Mr. Johnstone is not more for their de-
claring

clarating war and beginning hostilities the first, than any other gentleman at the Board, but he thinks it ought, and may be very reasonably left to the prudence of the gentlemen at Patna to judge what are open acts of hostility on the part of the Nabob, who is already armed, and bids us defiance.

It is further resolved,

That if a rupture does happen, Major Adams shall march with the King's Regiment, and all the Company's troops at Ghyretty and Calcutta, Captains Broadbrook's and Maclean's battalions of Seapoys compleated, also Captain Champion's company of military from Jellafore, together with the following artillery, viz. two twelve pounders, six six pounders, and two howitzers. The Major is therefore desired to make the necessary lists of stores accordingly. And it is further resolved, that seven companies of Seapoys from Jellafore, and three from Burdwan, shall, in such case, be ordered to Calcutta to compleat the two battalions, to go with Major Adams, and serve for the duties of the Presidency.

On the 18th we received the following letter from Mr. Ellis and his Council, which will shew how near to a crisis the disputes were approaching at Patna, and the fatal contempts and inveteracy in which they held the Nabob and his forces.

Y 4. ——— *Letter from Patna.*

YOUR favour of the 24th *ultimo* we received the 2d instant, and immediately dispatched the letter inclosed therein to the Nabob. As far as we can judge, he inclines not to pacific measures, for since the receipt of your letters of the 7th and 10th *ultimo*, he has been constantly sending troops into this city; the commanders of his forces in dif-

ferent parts of the country hereabouts, are under orders to assemble at Patna, and some of them are actually in motion, by which it seems as if he intended a blow at this party: on that head, however, we are perfectly easy; but under the deepest concern for the fate of the city, which we are hourly apprehensive will be plundered by the licentious undisciplined rabble within its walls: the suburbs are already entirely destroyed, and the wretched situation of people of all ranks, is more easy to conceive than describe.

Meer Mindy Cawn is the name of the person whom the Nabob has appointed his Naib here, but to this time he has not paid the Chief the usual compliment of acquainting him with his arrival.—He carries on the preparations for attack or defence (for as yet we know not which to call them) with more vigour than his predecessor, and thereby adds to the terror and alarm of the inhabitants.

The night before last the whole of his people were under arms till the morning. Great part of yesterday the gates were kept shut, and the relief of our hospital-guard refused admittance, upon which the Chief wrote him a letter, a copy of it we now inclose, as likewise of his answer. The guard has been since admitted, but the Burbunna-gate still remains shut.

It is commonly talked that the Nabob has sent this Mindy Cawn to drive out the English, but you will judge that there is not much danger to be apprehended from a man whose talent seems chiefly to lie in founding his own praise; his insolence may, however, reduce us to the disagreeable necessity of taking the city from him.

With the greatest difficulty we have collected money sufficient to pay our Europeans for this month, and our Seapoys for March, and have not at this time a single Rupee in cash, we therefore
request

request you will take the most speedy method of supplying us.

Z 4.—Mr. Johnstone, who had already twice interrupted the public business by personal reflections on the President, for the distinction made by the Nabob in his letter to Mahomed Aly of the Company's dustuck, and the President's own, again resumed the same subject in the following minute, in consultation of the 18th, to which is subjoined the President's reply.

Extract of Consultation of the 18th April 1763.

Mr. Johnstone's Minute.

Mr. Johnstone begs leave to remark, in answer to the President's Minute of the 28th March, that the true translation of the paragraph of the Nabob's letter to Mahomed Aly, n°. 29, hereto subjoined, done by Mr. Gulston, is very different from that which Mr. Vansittart appeals to, and stands entered in the country correspondence, and which Mr. Johnstone objected to at that time, though by not then being able to get the original, it could not be altered; the very letter produced by the President, which though wrote, after the appearance of this order of the Nabob's, he would refer to as a proof that no agreement of this kind had ever been mentioned betwixt him and the Nabob, plainly and expressly declares the same sense of the paragraph that we have followed, referring to the Gomastahs of Mr. Vansittart's private business, who might have either the Company's or his own private dustuck, that they should not be impeded further.

It does not appear from any line in the Nabob's letter that the Governor's trade was stopt, nor any instance

instance or place referred to, which would have been the case, and particularized; it may be supposed, as well in regard to them as to his particular Gomastah, Coja Warris.

By this and many other of the Nabob's public letters and orders, it appears he considered, and directed 9 per cent. to be levied on whatever goods are purchased, being the produce of this country, without regard to their being for exportation or inland trade.

“ The Governor writes to me that you interrupt his own Gomastah. Notwithstanding in the paper of regulations there is no distinction of private and public, yet as the Governor is my friend, I accordingly write to you not to impede the Gomastah of his private trade, that may have with him either the Governor's or the Company's dustuck.”

The President's Reply.

In answer to Mr. Johnstone's further minute I observe, that the only difference between Mr. Rogers's translation of the postscript of the Nabob's letter to Mahomed Aly and Mr. Gulston's, is, that in the first it stands *the Gomastah*, in the other, *the said Gomastah*; but whether the Nabob's intention was general or particular, all that I assert is, that I never desired, nor would accept of any privilege for my Gomastahs, over those of the rest of the Gentlemen in the service; and that I never sealed dustucks with any other than the Company's usual dustuck seal. My letter to the Nabob, n^o. 1. dated 24th January, contained the complaint I mentioned of two parcels of my own goods being stopt, with the Company's dustuck, under the charge of Ramnaut Holdar and Coja Askafuk, belonging to Coja Warris; and it was in consequence
of

of that complaint the Nabob sent the orders in question to Mahomed Aly, in which the complaint of Coja Askafuk and Coja Warris, is particularly noticed. As soon as I got a sight of these orders, I wrote the Nabob (as by the extract entered in consultation the 28th March) to let him see that I did not mean to have any particular indulgence for my own Gomastahs, but expected equal justice with others.

A 5.—Messrs. Amyatt and Hay remained some time at Cossimbuzar, waiting for the Nabob's approbation of their visit to proceed. His first answer upon this subject contained an indirect refusal, but as a letter had been wrote to him, which represented in very strong terms the necessity of such a conference, and insisted on a positive answer; it was agreed to wait for his answer, which arrived on the 20th, and signified, though reluctantly, his consent to receive the deputation. This letter being laid before the Board, it was determined by the majority, after a long debate, that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should proceed. The Nabob's letters and debates upon this last, I shall enter, as follows.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.

Dated 2 April 1763.

I Have been favoured with your letter of the 24th of March: I did not expect that while I was going to take another country, you would send troops into mine; you sometime ago wrote me, while at Battea, that the business of the Company in the districts was obstructed, and that you should send people

people to prevent it; but you did not write that you would seize and carry away my Aumils, and disgrace them. I do not write answers to Mr. Ellis's letters on this account, because from the beginning he had one meaning in his mouth, and another in his heart, and acted contrary to what he wrote; as in the affair of the opium, where he took a bond from all the merchants, by which he was to purchase it himself; and for this Mr. Ellis wrote to Nobit Roy; but concerning the salt-petre, which is the Company's own business, he wrote nothing, nor did he ask any questions relative to it, but at once sent Seapoys, and seized the Aumil of Tacegepoor, whom he accused of impeding the salt-petre, and carried him away bound. As the salt-petre business is of the greatest importance, it was proper that he should write in the same manner as he did about the opium. When Seapoys were sent, Rajah Nobit Roy sent his Chubdar to him, to know on what business they were going into the Pergunnahs: Mr. Ellis answered, that when they returned from their business he would know.—A copy of Nobit Roy's letter I inclose. If any one had refused to listen to him, then he might have sent people to prevent his business being obstructed, not to bind and carry away my Officers. I before wrote you that I was coming to Rajemohull, and would act according to your directions, but not regarding this, you sent people to the districts and created disturbances. Unable to help myself, I have desisted from all duties.

If notwithstanding this, you send people to the Pergunnahs, I shall doubtless imagine you have another ally in view.

With regard to your sending Mr. Amyatt, I before wrote that of mercantile affairs, nothing is left to be settled. I have now only the revenues
of

of a small parcel of land. If you send him to regulate this, let me know. As to mercantile affairs, I have relinquished every thing, and nothing remains for him to negotiate. In future should you have any thing to do in respect to the revenues of land, do it with some other person.

In regard to the expression of *servants and men of low condition*, which is thought to reflect on the Gentlemen of Council; hitherto I have had no knowledge of the Gentlemen of Council: The servant and mean-spirited, is whatever person makes a difference between the reputation and business of the Company and mine, and endeavours to create disturbance and disputes between us, and what can be more plain and express than this? In a place where one man or letter of yours would be sufficient to clear your business, and carry it on in a proper manner, there to send Seapoys (servants and men of low condition) and companies of Seapoys to take my Officers and carry them away bound, and do their utmost to make disturbance between you and me; consider, Sir, whether this is a proceeding of men of low character, or of men of rank and dignity?

A 5. a—*Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.*

Dated 11 April 1763.

I Have received your friendly letter, in which you write me, that “ If you and the Gentlemen of Council were inclined to bring on a rupture, the disputes and hostile proceedings in several places would have given sufficient occasion for declaring it immediately; but that a rupture, and the setting up another Nazim, is by no means

“ means your desire, for which reason you had
 “ appointed Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay, to confer
 “ with me; that the disturbances might be put
 “ an end to, and our friendship confirmed, and
 “ that besides the article of customs, they had
 “ other articles in charge; therefore I should
 “ write to these two Gentlemen, desiring them in
 “ a friendly manner to come; for with respect to
 “ the customs, the orders lately given by the
 “ Sircar were not consistent with the Company’s
 “ rights and interests; and that if I should refuse to
 “ confer with those two Gentlemen, it would oc-
 “ casion a rupture between us.”——Sir, it is sur-
 prising that you do not see the actions of your
 own people, and will not give credit to them.
 Notwithstanding the treaties between us and the
 country, and money I have given for the Com-
 pany’s army, the only favour shewn me on all sides,
 is the sending troops and seizing the Aumils of the
 districts of Dacca, attacking and beating the Tan-
 nadars of Jatirapoor, and on the Patna-side taking
 my Aumils, and keeping them in prison: What
 are greater hostilities than these? It is surprizing
 that you do not see the disturbances of your own
 people, and will derive every thing tending to
 hostilities from my words and letters; and having
 prepared an army, the Gentlemen hold themselves
 ready to begin a war with me.

I am really struck with amazement!

With respect to Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay, I
 before wrote, that if they came only on a visit, my
 house was theirs.

Now I write again, that if they come with only
 one or two companies of necessary attendants, I
 have no objection; but I must remark, that on the
 one side you use only violent measures, while on the
 other, looking towards the treaties between us,
 you send to confer. A conference attended with
 such

such unreasonable violences never was heard of in any country, and certainly there will be nothing contrary to custom.

By what you write on other articles of business, besides the customs, I understand that for this remaining country, which is left to my lot, you have appointed me Aumil, or regard me as Wadadar, or Zemidar, or Gomastah, or Muttasuddy; that the other articles of business, exclusive of the customs, you have given in charge to the said Gentlemen.

Write me fully and explicitly of this, that I may be acquainted, and act accordingly.

*Extract of Consultation of the 20th April 1763,
(present, Messrs. Vansittart, Batson, Cartier,
Hastings, Johnstone, Marriott, and Watts.)*

The Nabob's letter of the 11th instant being read and debated on at the Board, as also his answer to Mr. Amyatt's letter, wrote at the same time.

The question was put, Whether Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should in consequence be recommended to proceed to Mongheer, and demand of the Nabob a definitive answer to the points contained in their instructions.

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

Mr. Watts is of opinion, That the present letters received from the Nabob are as evasive as those read in consultation of the 11th of April, and that they are not in the least satisfactory, therefore thinks from the treachery the Moors are famous for, and the Nabob's disposition and character, that it is unsafe for Messrs. Amyatt and Hay to proceed;

but

but as every method ought to be tried to prevent a rupture, he proposes that the letter be sent to those Gentlemen, and if they believe no risque would attend them, he is of opinion, it would certainly be very proper for them to proceed to Mongheer, and demand a positive answer to their instructions.

Mr. Marriott's Minute.

Mr. Marriott is of opinion, That copies of the Nabob's letters to the President, and his letter to Mr. Amyatt, should be transmitted to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, and that they should be recommended to proceed to Mongheer, and require from the Nabob a definitive answer to every point of their instructions, as being the most speedy and certain method of bringing things to a conclusion.

Mr. Johnstone's Opinion.

I think the Nabob gives not Messrs. Amyatt and Hay any greater encouragement to go on their deputation by the letters now before us, than in those he wrote of the 2d instant. The Nabob only consents to receive their visit if they come as friends, but without satisfying us, he will treat with them on business, on which he had demanded a positive answer, and the expressions of his letters induce me to think he will make use of this pretext, of his not having consented to enter on business, to decline treating on any of these points for which these Gentlemen are deputed: I would leave it to these Gentlemen to judge and decide, whether they have sufficient reason to proceed in hopes of success from such an equivocal letter; and in the mean time would have all the stores transported to
Ghyretty,

Ghyretty, and all the other preparations made, agreeable to the intent of Major Adams; that whatever resolution be taken hereafter, a day may not be lost in waiting after we have determined.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

The Nabob in my judgment plainly declares, That he is very willing to receive Mr. Amyatt's visit, and only expresses his fears, lest he should be going upon some hostile intention. For this reason, and to put a stop to the insurrections which these disputes have given rise to in the province of Bahar, and the alarm spread through both provinces; I think Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should proceed without loss of time on their deputation.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

Mr. Cartier is of the same opinion with Mr. Marriott.

Mr. Batson's Opinion.

In the sense I understand the Nabob's letter, he still refuses to treat with Messrs. Amyatt and Hay on any matters of business, and still continues in the same evil disposition towards us: I therefore think it improper for these Gentlemen to proceed on their deputation.

The President's Opinion, and that of the Majority.

The President agrees in opinion with Mr. Marriott; and that appearing also to be the opinion of the majority.

Resolution in Consequence.

Agreed, That we do write accordingly to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay.

B 5.—*Whilst this Point was in debate, the following Letter was received from the Chief and Council at Patna, to the Board.*

Dated 11 April 1763.

IT is highly necessary that you should bring matters to a speedy issue with the Nabob, for the disaffected Zemindars, and other malecontents taking the advantage of his infamous and foolish behaviour, are rising up in arms, and threaten destruction to the country. He has already lost Battea, and we have intelligence that Comgar Cawn, Baboo Cawn, and some other Chiefs are plundering the country about Daoudnagur: the Baugepoor Rajahs are also assembling forces on the other side of the river, and we daily expect to hear of their entering and possessing themselves of their ancient domains.

Whatever was the design of those Gentlemen in painting in such strong colours the troubled state of the province of Bahar, it could not but have some weight with the Board, in shewing the necessity of putting an end as speedily as possible to our disputes with the Nabob, and must have afforded a convincing argument of the little inclination the Nabob could have to protract them, since the consequences shewed themselves so fatal to his country, and destructive to his Government.

At the same time, for the sake of truth, it must be observed, that the whole story was without foundation,

dation, it being well known that the province never enjoyed a state of more perfect tranquillity. Not a Zemindar in the country ever lifted up his hand against the Nabob from the beginning of our troubles, and Comgar Cawn in particular, upon the first call joined him with all his forces.

The aversion which the Nabob shewed to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay's visit, is very apparent through every one of his letters, and the reason is as obvious. He was now firmly persuaded by Mr. Ellis's conduct, and the approbation it met from the Board, that they were resolved to break with him, and he well knew Mr. Amyatt's connections with that Gentleman, and his disaffection to himself. These circumstances added to the report (which he readily believed) of our forces being actually on the march against him, made him conceive that the proposed negociation was only a blind to other designs, and that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay were going to conduct or assist them.

On the 2d of May a letter arrived from the Nabob, addressed to the Company, of which the following is a translation.

C 5.—*Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Company.*

Dated 21 April 1763.

TH E particulars of the ruinous state of Bengal, you will have been doubtless acquainted with, from the writings of Mr. Vansittart your Governor, and the other Gentlemen of the Council: the same I will briefly lay before you.

The Nabob, Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, by the assistance of Colonel Clive, became Nazim of Bengal; but by reason of the infirmities of old age, he was incapable of bestowing that attention which was necessary to the administration of affairs, especially after the death of his son, by a stroke of lightning; when an excess of grief and affliction deprived him of the exercise of his reason and understanding, and added to the infirmities of old age.

At this time the Prince of the empire, whilst his father was yet in possession of the throne, by reason of the Omrah's coming down from Delly, arrived in the districts of Patna, and caused great troubles there.

Although Shah Aulumgheer his father wrote to Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, to send the Prince to his presence; yet as the Prince had no fixed residence, the endeavours of the Nabob aforementioned, and of the English army, were productive of no profitable effect, whilst the revenues of the country were entirely obstructed, and the business also of the Company's commerce was much impeded.

During this confusion the Nabob aforementioned became indebted about two crore of Rupees to his army and the troops of the Company, besides the debt owing to the Sircar of the Company, from the Nabob aforementioned, of which, from his extreme negligence and want of authority, he was unable to discharge the * smallest part; and he was reduced to such an extremity, that the army surrounded and tumultuously gathered about him every day for their arrears, whilst the demands of the royal treasury became more pressing: besides this, he was indebted to other merchants, and the Marattas

lay at the distance of five or six coss from Moorshedabad, increasing the general disorder, and possessing themselves of the whole country. Upon this occasion, the honour and dignity of the Nabob aforementioned, was openly attacked by the hands of the army and other people, who surrounded his house, and crowded upon, and underneath his walls, loading him with opprobrious language, and raining stones and bricks upon him.

When I saw things come to this pass, and the army, and the people, who, from the prospect of their impending ruin, had applied themselves to me, were a little appeased; I offered myself as security for the arrears of the army, and I satisfied the people; then, by the means of Mr. Hastings, I made known to the Governor, Mr. Vansittart, the extremity to which my honour was reduced, the universal confusion which reigned in the Nizamut, that all methods had proved ineffectual, and that the people and the army had applied themselves to me, and therefore I desired him to come and assist me.

The Governor, Mr. Vansittart, seeing the disorderly state of the Nizamut, and of the currency of the Company's affairs, judged it highly advisable that I should be invested with the direction of the affairs of the country, and the command of the forces of the Nabob aforementioned: with this view he came with some of his Council to Moorshedabad, and advised the Nabob, in these terms, "Do you remain at ease and in quiet in the place, "and entrust all your affairs to him, who will "serve you with his heart and life, and effectually "restore good order to your country."

The Nabob aforementioned not consenting to remain at Moorshedabad, immoveably declared, that he wou'd go to Mecca, and accordingly with this design departed to Calcutta, where I have ever

since remitted a monthly sum for his subsistence.— For this cause, regarding the welfare of the people, and the preservation of my own honour and character, which were united with the Nabob aforementioned, I strenuously applied myself to the management and establishment of the affairs of these provinces.

The Governor, Mr. Vansittart, represented to me that the Company suffered a great loss by the heavy expences of the English forces, and he desired that I would assign a tract of land for their pay, and they should attend me, and be of service to me. I replied, that I would pay them ready money. When he consented not to this, exclusively of the ready money, effects, lands, and the farm of salt-petre, given by the Nabob Meer Jaffier Cawn, I assigned three districts, which produced an income of fifty Lacks of Rupees, for the charges of the forces of the Company; that they might collect the rents as they pleased, and apply them to the defraying of their expences, and when called upon, afford me assistance: besides this, I furnished five Lacks of Rupees as an assistance, which was necessary for the charges of the Company's forces in the siege of the fort of Pondicherry; also twenty Lacks of Rupees, the debt owing from the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, I entirely discharged.

At that time, the troubles caused by the Prince increasing, I marched from Moorshedabad to the province of Bahar, expecting to be assisted by the Company's forces; and as the father of Shah * Aulum was dead, I addressed the Shaw, requesting, that whatever improper measures had been taken by Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, he would pardon

The Name assumed by the Prince on the death of his father.
my

my offences, and the sums due to the imperial Sircar, I would pay : but several Gentlemen and Chiefs of the Company's forces [of whom there were at that time many dismissions and changes] making certain agreements with the Prince, conducted him to Patna, and associating with some of the Muttasuddies † of the Nizamut, and having taken the fort of Patna into their own possession, they laid me under a heavy expence to my troops for six months, and strove to throw all my affairs into disorder.—By the blessing of God, Mr. Vansittart remaining firm to his treaty and agreement, called several Gentlemen from Patna to Calcutta, so that their designs proved abortive ; and by paying and promising, I prevailed upon Shah Aulum to return toward the imperial city.

What I have done these three years for the welfare of the people, the care of the country, the preservation of your friendship, and the currency of your affairs, is as manifest as the sun. There is no occasion for me to write it, and without doubt you have been sufficiently informed of it from the addresses of your Governor, Mr. Henry Vansittart.

The condition of these three years, how shall I write, and what I have suffered, and yet suffer, from the hands of several Gentlemen. The flame of enmity every day rises higher : whatever they please they do, binding and carrying away my Officers ; whatever comes in their mouths they speak, and they place guards upon my houses and forts.

On any taxable goods imported, I have never troubled them for one Rupee ; and such of the most valuable commodities of the country as they have bought and carried to other ports, have

† Ministers.

passed in like manner, without any demand from me for duties upon them : yet not contented with this extensive trade in all articles free from duties, they carry on a trade in many things not customary ; such as dried fish, straw, bamboos, beetle-nut, salt, tobacco, timbers, and other trifling articles, which used to afford the means of subsistence to the poor and indigent in the country, nor are fit for exportation, nor can produce any profit to the Company ; and for their own trade and advantage they raise disputes.

By such means the poor, and the inhabitants of the country were reduced to, and still continue in ruin and misery. Of all these matters I wrote repeatedly to the Governor, Mr. Vansittart. Altho' he did not consider, nor do justice to the poor, nor redress their oppressions, yet for my sake he came to me, and agreeing to a small duty on goods bought and sold in the country, he returned to Calcutta. But several gentlemen of the Council not regarding the words or acts of the Governor, proceeded to improper and unbecoming measures, and fixed the root of enmity so deep, that there was no resource left in Bengal, and the disorders of the Nizamut are daily encreasing. Whatever I say or write upon this occasion these gentlemen will not consider, nor do me justice. Disregarding the treaty and good name of the Company, they desire not to abstain from hurting their own character with the Company, nor to abide by our agreement.

But I have one hope yet left in the justice of the Company, since in the presence of the Company the iniquity of any one, whether relation or stranger, servant or friend, meets not with countenance ; and such practices as tend to the subversion of the country, and the ruin of the inhabitants, will, upon no account, be approved of by you. Assuredly,

edly, on hearing these things, you will graciously befriend me, and I, for my own part, ever attentive to the friendship, the confirmation of the union, and the observance of the treaty and agreement with the Company, which I have in my hands under the seal of the Company, do remain and will continue in quiet and forbearance to the utmost of my power. I have that reliance on your friendship and benevolence, that you will, in the strictest manner, enjoin the Chiefs of the army, and the gentlemen that reside in or may come into those parts, to assist and befriend me according to the treaty and agreement, nor in contradiction thereto, to labour at introducing disorders into the country, and amongst the inhabitants.

It is proper that you grant me an answer to this address, that hereafter I may have a written pledge of your affection and kindness to shew to these gentlemen, that your affairs and mine may be conducted in a proper manner. In this view I shall use my endeavours, and labour with my heart and life in promoting the success of your affairs.

If you refuse me this, this province, on which your commerce and my Nizamut depend, will be one entire scene of ruin and misery, without any resource left; and with the payments to the Royal Treasury, the charges of the army, and other necessary expences, I shall be involved in inextricable distresses. For your information I have represented this. What more shall I trouble you with?

May the degree of your wealth and prosperity be for ever increasing

D 5. — *On the 9th of May we received the following Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna.*

WE have received your favour of the 14th instant, with the resolutions of the Board, which, as far as we can comprehend them, will not allow us to construe any act of the Nabob as hostile, although ever so greatly tending to our ruin, but are to wait until we have notice from you of a rupture being declared. Who there may be to receive your commands, is hard to say, but most probably neither any of us, nor of the party now here, as we shall clearly evince.

We have had intelligence, (not from Hircarahs) that if the army should come from Calcutta, the Nabob intends marching here to attack us, in which case he will certainly remove our dauks, and cut off all communication by that channel. It will be the third day of his march before we can receive certain advice of it, and a single coëd will be twelve days reaching Calcutta, provided he meets with no impediment; but it is more probable, that at such a juncture he never gets there, and still more so, that your answer never reaches us. How then are we to act?

This factory, it is well known, is not tenable, if attacked from the city, and to abandon it will, amongst many other evils, give such a shock to the spirit of our troops as may induce the greatest part of our Seapoys (in whom our principal strength consists) to desert us and go to the Nabob, where they are better insured of success, and will meet with ample encouragement, which has not been spared even when there was no appearance of a rupture, to those who would desert with their arms. Another

ther substantial reason why we cannot leave the factory is, our having put our ammunition, for it's greater security, in the lower part of the house. The magazine, where it before lay, being liable to be blown up by a common rocket.

But let us suppose for a moment, that on the Nabob's marching against us we quit the factory, and take post. Are we to sacrifice our surgeons and sick, who reside in the city? For it cannot be supposed that they will be permitted to come out, or if they could, the situation of most of them is such, that their being brought into the air will be attended with certain death. When we have fortified ourselves in this post, our affairs are not at all mended, for the Nabob has only to surround and starve us, whilst we, dying by inches, sit waiting for your orders, which can never arrive but with the army, which at soonest will be forty days after his march from Mongheer. How are we to subsist all this time? The Nabob seizes all provisions coming from Bengal, and such is the scarcity here, that had it not been for the gunge, which so much pains was taken to abolish, we had long ere now been obliged to take up arms to procure our daily sustenance. But was there plenty, we have not a Rupee to purchase it; with the utmost difficulty we have scraped money together to pay our troops for these two months past, and at this time have not sufficient to discharge a fourth part of the demands that will be upon us in a few days, although we acquainted you of the lowness of our cash as long ago as the 2d of February.

This part, 'tis true, runs no risk from the Nabob, provided we are allowed to act, and make the most of every advantage that may offer; but if our hands are tied, our destruction becomes inevitable. Such a body as this must ever act offensively
and

and vigorously, and nip the designs of the enemy in the bud. 'Tis by such conduct only that they can hope to preserve themselves, and surely it is just and laudable to make use of every means Providence has put in our power, to defeat the attacks of a cruel and faithless enemy.

Our safety lies in mastering the city by a coup de main before the Nabob gets into it, for afterwards it may be impracticable, and the consequence of our acting on the defensive any where but in the city, we have already pointed out. Our distance from Calcutta is very great, and whenever the Nabob marches this way, our communication will be cut off, and most probably not opened but by your army.

If therefore we should obey nature's first law, we hope we shall not be found culpable, though it may not perfectly coincide with your orders.

We cannot conclude without observing to you, that we think we have no ways merited the diffidence you express, nor given the least reason even to suspect that we would involve the Company in a war, by any rash and unprecedented step: we rather think that we have given proof of a contrary disposition, in bearing the many insults we have received, particularly since Mindy Aly Cawn has been appointed Naib here, whose people have even dared to abuse, and call us opprobrious names aloud from the walls.

We shall be as far as any to whom the management of the Company's affairs are entrusted, from bringing them into difficulties, but when it is really necessary, shall endeavour to act with a spirit that becomes subjects of Britain, and servants of the greatest commercial body.

Your letters are always one, and often two days earlier in date than any others from Calcutta, which gives

gives the Nabob a great advantage in point of intelligence. We therefore request you will order them to be dispatched with the utmost expedition.

E 5.—Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.

Dated the 2d of May 1763.

I Have received with pleasure your friendly letter. You write that “ in the same manner as the
“ writers of news and incendiary reports, had
“ falsely informed me forces were dispatched by
“ land and water, and through woods and moun-
“ tains; they must have wrote upon the af-
“ fair of the Seets, that the English forces had been
“ dispatched through their instigations, and that
“ those gentlemen were associated with the English,
“ for which cause they must have fallen under my
“ displeasure. You write also that you understood
“ from Mr. Amyatt’s letters that Mahomed Tucky
“ Cawn having taken the same gentlemen from their
“ house, had placed them in Herajeel. The news
“ of this procedure had greatly amazed you, be-
“ cause at the time that I sat in the Musnud of the
“ Nizamut, I, yourself, and the Seets were join-
“ ed, and it was agreed that these being the princi-
“ pal men of the country, it was proper to carry
“ on the management of affairs thro’ their means.
“ And also at the time you came to Mongheer,
“ you said all that was to be said concerning them;
“ and now to carry them away with such indigni-
“ ties is unbecoming; this procedure is a diminu-
“ tion of my character, and breach of faith be-
“ tween you and myself, and will give a public re-
“ proach to your good name and my own; such
“ a disgrace was never offered to them in the Go-
“ vernment of any former Nazim; their business is
“ only

“ only commerce, nor have they ever assumed any
 “ concern in the affairs of the Government ; and
 “ you desire that I will write to Meer Syed Maho-
 “ med Cawn Bahadre to release them, that they
 “ may return to their own house.”

Sir, your forces have not marched to Lucky-
 poor, neither have they entered Dacca, nor have
 they gone to Rungamattey, or Rungpoor, and
 where have they not committed violence, and what
 place or what districts are free from them? And
 what day passed that the dependents and compa-
 nies of the English at Ghyretty and Calcutta do not
 raise reports of war and tumults, and troops march-
 ing from every quarter to Mongheer and Patna?
 That you write that the Hircarabs and writers of
 news write falsehoods. The Hircarabs of necessity
 write what they hear.

And in the affair of the Seets, no person has to
 this time ever wrote any thing, nor spoken to me
 concerning them.

Now that you write to me with all these specious
 pretences, it is as manifest as the sun, that under
 the Government of every Nazim of Bengal till
 now, Omichund (for instance) and every other de-
 pendent of the English, and those gentlemen too
 attended on the Nazim, and assisted in the affairs
 of the Sircar, at the same time that they carried
 on their mercantile concerns. God be praised that
 you yourself write that I said, “ These gentlemen
 “ are of consequence, it is proper to carry on my
 “ affairs with their intervention.” For these three
 years that I have borne this burthen, and have re-
 peatedly wrote to those gentlemen to carry on their
 own business, and assist in the affairs of the Niza-
 mut, they paid not the least regard to my sum-
 mons, and have put a stop to all their mercantile
 business, and have done all they could to throw the
 affairs

affairs of the Nizamut into confusion, and treating me as an enemy and outlaw, they refused to come. Now that I have sent my people and brought them hither, it was not because they were intriguing with the English, &c. but for the management of such of my affairs as indispenfibly required it. Since the beginning this was agreed upon between us, that these gentlemen, &c. fhould always attend on the Nazim, and carry on both the bufinefs of the Nizamut and their own.

As to your writing to me in this manner, and knitting your brows without reason, and treating the covenants and treaties which are between us like children's play, breaking entirely through them, if you have not any kind of connection with them, what other conftruction can I devise for this? Whilft your people drag and carry away my aumils, and keep them in confinement, in this unjuftifiable infolence of your people, which is overfetting the treaty between us, there is no diminution of character nor breach of faith, nor caufe of reproach between us, neither is any violation of the treaty in this. But when I fummon a man who is my own dependent, the treaty is broke, and my adminiftration becomes weak, and my name fuffers in the fight of every one, but particularly in yours. O gracious God! This is a matter of aftonifhment which my understanding cannot reach.

In a word, that these gentlemen from the first day fware and agreed, "That wherever my life " was, their life was, and where my bufinefs was, " their bufinefs was." God be praised that this is a fact known to all the world. Now I have brought them to this place, that they may always be with me, and attend to my bufinefs and their own, according to custom.

I know not whether what you write in behalf of these Gentlemen be by way of intercession for them,
or

or whether their names are included in our former treaty, which you have recourse to when you charge me with breach of faith, and violation of former agreements; and reproach me with weakness and a bad name. God be praised that I have sent for them with no other design than for the currency of business, and for their continuance in one place, nor, as in the case of Fukkooruttojar, have seized any person unjustly, nor charged my conscience with the unjust death of any man. If you are resolved to put misconstructions on every proper and rightful action, I am utterly without remedy; but if you regard equity, this matter is not of such consequence as to give occasion for so much contention and reproach.

(In the Nabob's hand writing.)

Sir, though it is agreed by the treaty between us, that I should never say any thing in behalf of the servants and dependants of the Company, nor you Gentlemen interfere in behalf of the servants and dependants of the Nizamut, yet you, Gentlemen, have regarded all this as utterly obliterated, and in contradiction thereto, persist in the violation of the treaty, and desire to raise your name and your own customs. I am remediless.

The Nabob had never expressed himself with so much acrimony, nor betrayed the vehemence of his resentment so strongly as in this letter, which seems to have been dictated from a sense of the deepest injuries. It must be confessed, the provocation was sufficient to draw such a recrimination from the Nabob, upon the little account which we made of seizing and imprisoning his Officers, whilst we were so ready to reproach him for doing the same to his own dependents. But what contributed at this time to make him the less relish
our

our remonstrance, was the news that he had just received of the seizure of Mahomed Aly, which in consequence of our orders to the Chief and Council of Dacca they had effected, happily without opposition, and immediately sent him prisoner to Calcutta. This treatment (however merited) of an Officer of such consequence, affected the Nabob more than all that had passed, nor coul' he mention it with temper in any of his letters after this period.

On the 30th of May we received the following letter from Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, containing an account of their first interview with the Nabob.

F 5.—*Copy of a Letter from Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, to the Governor and Council.*

Dated 18 May 1763.

WE waited on the Nabob the 15th, to acquaint him of our resolutions. In conversing on the different articles, we found it impossible to discourse separately on them, and he desired us to write down what we had to say to him; we delivered to him a Persian translate we had made of our instructions. The same being read, he desired we would leave it with him, as also the Firmaunds, &c. which we acquiesced to. The next evening he sent his Moonshy, Hafiz Issara Cawn to us, to desire we would sign that Persian translate, or draw out a list of such demands as we were commissioned to get complied with; which we accordingly did, and sent it to him signed and sealed, copy of which is here inserted.

We again waited on him this morning, to desire his answer if he would comply with these articles, and give us the satisfaction required. He replied, it would take up some time to consider on them,

and desired two days to give his answer. We had a good deal of conversation with him on different subjects, in which it appeared he had considered himself as in a state of war with us for some time past, and had issued orders and made preparations accordingly, which has been the cause of some of the interruptions and insults our people have met with lately, and most of the others he said had been occasioned by Mr. Vansittart's letter, which he hitherto looked upon as a treaty the Governor had been authorized to enter into with him, which caused him to send those orders over the country to his Aumils, the executing of which we now so much complain of. We remarked to him many of those interruptions we had laboured under before that letter.

As far as we can judge from our last conversation, he seems somewhat convinced that our intentions are not hostile, as long as he does not attempt to infringe our rights (of which we have used our best endeavours to persuade him,) and gives us satisfaction for the losses sustained by insults offered to the English by his Officers in different parts of the country. This we are in hopes he will comply with, though he makes great use of the argument of his having acted by Mr. Vansittart's agreement. We cannot write you at present with certainty of his intentions, but hope to be more so in our next.

We shall again wait on him for a further conversation on the many articles he is to comply with, before the time appointed by him for giving his answer, to endeavour further to convince him of the reasonableness of them, when we shall mention to him the moving our Troops to Patna, which hitherto we have declined on account of his suspicions.

This

This letter afforded some hopes that the Nabob would submit to the demands, and thus our disputes be ended. But it appeared from his letters afterwards, that his disposition for peace was little assisted by his conversation with Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, who instead of allowing room for negotiation, or shewing an equal willingness to hear and redress his grievances, persisted only in requiring a determinate answer to their own demands, which might as well have been insisted on by letter from Calcutta, without putting them to the risk, or trouble of so long a journey. The Nabob complained much of this proceeding, and by some passages in his letters, appears to have been as little pleased with the haughty stile in which they addressed him. Whilst they in their turn retorted the same complaint upon him. But what were the Nabob's real intentions at this time, whether to submit to necessity and sign the articles, or by rejecting them refer our differences to the chance of war, it is hard to judge.

G 5.—Whilst our affairs were in this critical suspense, a very unlucky circumstance happened, which gave a turn to the scale, and threw every thing back into confusion. Some boats laden with arms for our troops at Patna, which had been dispatched about two months before, passing by Mongheer, were stopt there by the guards. Messrs. Amyatt and Hay demanded their release; but the Nabob looking upon this as a fresh proof of our design to break with him, and naturally concluding that these arms were to be employed against himself, refused to part with them unless our forces were removed from Patna; declaring, that whilst they continued there, employed as they had always been to intimidate the Officers of the Government, and screen the violences and oppressions of Mr. Ellis, he could put no confidence in our professions.

At the same time, as a proof that his view in the demand was only to prevent the ill use he knew Mr. Ellis would make of those forces, he offered as an alternative, that they should continue there, provided that Mr. Ellis was recalled, and either Mr. Amyatt, Mr. M'Gwire, or Mr. Hastings appointed Chief in his room; otherwise he declared, that the detachment might be ordered down to Mongheer for his service and assistance, according to the terms of our original treaty. In short he pretended, that the only object he aimed at was to obviate the mischievous designs of Mr. Ellis, by depriving him of the means of effecting them. The first advice that we received of this affair, was in a letter from Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, of the 26th of May, which inclosed at the same time the Nabob's reply to the demands of the Board, and was confirmed by their letters of the 29th and 31st of the same month.

These letters, with translations of the demands presented to the Nabob, with his reply annexed, are here inserted.

Extract of a Letter from Messrs. Amyatt and Hay to the Governor and Council.

Dated 26th May 1763.

WE have not seen the Nabob these four days, he being indisposed, which caused us to importune him by letters for an answer to the several demands you ordered us to insist on his complying with. This morning he sent it by Nobit Roy, which we now inclose you. We had before flattered ourselves he intended giving us a favourable one, though he all along continued to insist on our people being the aggressors, (and complained of our seizing his Aumils, when he was always ready to

to redress our grievances) without entering into just arguments, but confining it to occurrences lately happened since his orders issued in consequence of Mr. Vansittart's letters; but he seemed to agree by his conversation, that the method we now wanted our business to go on in, properly observed, was just, and to appearance he was free from apprehensions of our wanting to quarrel with him; but we now must conjecture this behaviour was only to delay time for some purpose or other.

The boats with the arms for Patna arrived here yesterday, and were stopt by the Nabob's Chokey. We immediately applied for their release by letter, and gave them a draft mentioning they contained arms, which they have kept, and the boats still continue detained. The Nabob promised an answer by Nobit Roy this morning, who said they were detained for having arms in them.

The letter written him to-day we have sent, hoping it will have some effect on his mind, reflecting that our going away must necessarily bring on a rupture, to prevent which, it may make him harken to reason, and he may still be brought to comply with the articles required; therefore, if he desires us to stay, and releases the boats, we shall continue here till such time as we receive your orders how we are to act in case of his non-compliance with any or every article; but if he continues the hostile action of detaining the arms, we shall move from hence either toward Bengal or Patna, as most convenient, if we have reason to suspect his wanting to stop us.

H 5.—*Copy of the Demands presented by Messrs. Amyatt and Hay to the Nabob.*

We have already pointed out to your Excellency the grounds of our right to a free trade through-

out the provinces, and the independency of our people upon the Country Government, founded upon the Royal Firmaund, &c. attested copies of which we have laid before your Excellency, as well as the hearty resolution of the Board to support you in your government with all its advantages, as long as you do not attempt to infringe the privileges of the English. We now proceed agreeable to your desire, to draw out a writing of the demands we are commissioned to make from the whole Board, and under their hands and seals.

1st, That your Excellency do annul the treaty you made with Mr. Vansittart, and recal the several attested copies of it, which were circulated together with your Parwana in consequence thereof, to the several aumils of your government, informing them of its being void.

2d, That reparation be made for the losses sustained by the English, both before the said treaty was made, and after it, by the stoppage of their business, and the oppressions of your several Officers.

3d, That the Sunnuds granted by your Excellency for the exemption of all duties for the space of two years, be immediately annulled, and all duties collected as before, as it in a great measure deprives the English of the advantages, which the tenor of the Royal Firmaund has ever entitled them to above other merchants, and is entirely repugnant to their interest, and prejudicial to the good harmony which ought to subsist between your Excellency and the English.

4th, That disputes between the English and the dependents of your Government be adjusted in the following manner, viz. At all those Aurungs which are adjacent to, or under the management of the subordinate factories, the Gomastahs in case of being injured by any of the Officers of the Government

vernment or their dependents, shall first make the application for redress in writing to the Officer of the Government residing on the spot, from whom if he does not receive immediate satisfaction, he shall send his complaint to the Chief of the nearest factory, who shall be empowered to take cognizance of the same, and demand and exact (if necessary) the satisfaction which the case may require.

But that it is to be understood in respect of weavers pykars, and all others who receive advances of money for goods to be provided, or are indebted for goods bought, the Gomastahs shall retain their power as usual to call such debtors to account. On the other hand, where the Government's people shall have reason to complain against the English Gomastah or Agent, they shall give the said Agent or Gomastah notice of the complaint in writing, requiring and recommending it to him to settle it in an amicable and equitable manner ; and in case the Agent or Gomastah refuses or neglects to settle it in such manner as shall appear reasonable to the Government's Officer, he shall then transmit an account of it to the Chief of the nearest English factory, and deliver a copy of the said account to the Gomastah ; and the Chief of the factory is hereby required to examine strictly into the affair, and decide it according to justice, giving a copy of his determination to the Officer of the Government who made the complaint. That the gentlemen of the subordinates shall keep a register of such complaints, with the decisions past on them, a copy whereof shall be forwarded monthly to the Presidency.

With respect to the distant places where trade is carried on, such as Rungpoor, Purnea, Gualpara, and Rungamatty, there is at present no Resident on the part of the Company, but the situation of the former being such as will make it convenient

for examining the complaints, and deciding the disputes which may happen in most of these places, we have accordingly appointed a gentleman to reside there for that purpose.

5th, That a gentleman on the part of the English do always reside at your Durbar, by whom all transactions between your Excellency and the English will be carried on in future, and that he be acquainted with, and approve all orders which are to be issued through the country relative to the English.

6th, That Jagheery Sunnuds be granted to the Company for their lands of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong.

7th, That your Excellency do issue peremptory orders to the Shroffs and others, for effecting the currency of the rupees coined in our mint, and for our coining three lacks of rupees annually in each of the mints of Dacca and Patna.

8th, That the money disbursed by Mahomed Riza Cawn, in the expedition of Tippara, out of the revenues of Chittagong, after that province was made over to the Company, be reimbursed.

9th, A public and exemplary punishment is required to be inflicted on Laulshaw, the Commander of the troops from Tekarry, belonging to your Excellency, who attacked a Subadar and fifty Seapoys belonging to the English, declaring that he had the Nabob's orders to cut every English Seapoy to pieces, wherever they were found; and that the said punishment be inflicted before our departure from hence.

10th, That the Seets be released, and permitted to go where they please unmolested.

11th, That your Excellency do give us an explicit answer to the above demands, and with all convenient expedition issue your orders agreeable thereto,

thereto, so that the English business may be freed from the interruptions which it now labours under.

I 5.—*Copy of the Nabob's Replies to Messrs. Amyatt's and Hay's Demands.*

As I have nothing to do with customs or duties on any kind of goods, from any merchant whatever, and have wholly exempted them for two years to come, ye may engage in whatever trade you please, nor will any one meddle or interfere therein. After the time of exemption is expired, every Officer will again interfere for duties, then ye will prove your rights from grants, &c. and I will answer you.

1st, The Governor's agreement was never regarded by me; and an order is now going to my Officers, that copies of the writing he gave me, wheresoever they appear, are null and void.

2d, What does it matter? The loss that has arisen in the revenues due to my Nizamut, on account of you gentlemen, settle with me for that, and I am ready to settle the loss that it can be proved the Company suffered in their business through my Officers.

3d, The profit and advantage that has ever used to accrue to the Company, now for my own part I covet none of it. The distinction of the Company is what it has been; but do you examine my papers, and see that in the Chucla of Houghly, Dacca, and Patna, &c. thirty or forty lacks of rupees is the annual amount of the taxation arising from these lesser receipts of customs for these two or three years past, what have I received? Nay have I not paid the expences of those three districts and other offices out of my own pocket? Besides all this, your folks have proceeded against my Officers with the utmost indignity, and carried them
away

away into confinement. Although I have again and again wrote to you on this head, and advised you thereof, it availed not at all, nor did you concern yourselves about it. As I perceived there was no redress for me, and on the contrary I suffered the greatest indignities and insults from your hands, for the sake of recovering your friendship, having no other remedy, I preferred my own loss, and have taken off all customs whatever.

4th, Whenever the Chiefs and Gomastahs of your factories interrupt not my people and the dependents on the Government, my Officers also will not interfere with the weavers, pykars, and others usually dependant on your factory. And when we shall agree on both sides to act in this manner, for what will my Officers causelessly commit injuries against you? You write that the Chiefs of your factories will settle disputes. You have never brought an Officer of this Government before a Chief of a factory for settling any matter in my administration until now. At present, if contrary to custom you are purposed to overthrow my influence and authority in the countries of Bengal, &c. it is a means of destroying our friendship. There never has been a factory of yours at Rungpoor, and the power too, which ye have given to the Chief ye would have raised there, of hearing and determining all causes in the country round about, is altogether foreign to any agreement or grant you have. If ye are resolved to act contrary to all agreement, how will authority and influence be kept there? and my Officers being there is altogether needless. Wherefore those places whither you are to send Chiefs, and to direct the administration of all causes, and the magistrature in such a manner, you ought first to advise me of, for the removal of my Officers, that I may call them thence and deliver the business of the place into your hands,

hands, because from there being two rulers in the same district, the country and inhabitants are ruined and oppressed.

5th, Whenever we have agreed together to our mutual satisfaction, there will be no necessity for your deputy remaining at my Court, as a single letter for these two or three years past has sufficed for every thing that has happened.

6th, In the treaty between us, as it shall have been mentioned, either for the expence of the Company's troops or as a jagheer, I will perform accordingly.

7th, The revenues arising from all the provinces are received in Sunnaut Rupees. The payment of my troops is also in the same species, as well as all other charges of the Nizamut, great or small; and I have never molested any one for the revenues in Sicca Rupees, coined either at Moorshedabad, Patna, or Calcutta. Moreover, shroffs and merchants are no one's servants, but for the sake of a small profit, deal one with the other. Let every man of his own fancy buy and sell whatever he pleases, I shall interrupt no one.

8th, All the money that Mahomed Reza Cawn had collected from Chittagong since it had been made over to the Company, is paid into their cash, as I have your receipt for it.

9th, In the districts dependent on the Nizamut, be pleased to see an account of the very many of my people plundered and massacred by your folks. When ye shall have given satisfaction for the whole, and punished your folks accordingly, I will immediately send for Laul-Shaw wheresoever he may be, although he is no servant of mine, and have him properly punished before you two gentlemen.

10th, It has ever been a custom for the Seets to attend upon the Nazim. At this time, on account of the insinuations of evil speakers, they were be-
come

come mistrustful of me, and afraid to come near me, therefore I sent for them hither. Wheresoever I am to be, there also will these gentlemen be, according to custom, and have their business carried on.

11th, The Company's adherence to their promise was evident to all men. I also thought you do what you say, and do not go back from your word. At present it seems as though you keep neither promise nor treaty for a single year, nay, a month or a day. Now that you have written and brought me these demands, what article of them rests upon me, that you require a public writing of me? I have not by any means broken my word; ye receded from your promise, and fain would again make a new treaty and agreement. It is necessary too, that what will make me easy, be considered in the treaty. If you allow me the management of the Nizamut, leave in Patna and other places the people necessary for conducting the business of your factory, as you formerly used to do, and remove all English troops and Seapoys wherever stationed. I shall never be backward in promoting and assisting the business that properly concerns you.

K 5. — *Extract of a Letter from Messrs. Amyatt and Hay to the Board.*

Dated May 29th, 1763.

NOTWITHSTANDING our repeated remonstrances to his Excellency, setting forth the hostility of the action, he has not yet released the boats with the arms, neither doth he shew the least confidence in what we say, and declares (at the same time hinting to us the former resolution) he shall not place any in us 'till we remove the detachment from Patna to Mongheer.

We

We beg leave to offer it as our opinion, that the having troops intended to be quartered in this province, stationed here, agreeable to his request, would be very adviseable, but cannot be thought of 'till such time as he complies with our demands, as it is probably made by caprice, or with design.

*Copy of a Letter from Messrs. Amyatt and Hay
to the Board.*

Dated 31st May, 1763.

THE inclosed is a duplicate of our last, dated the 29th instant, on which day we sent you a cypher made out here, which we imagined might be useful in carrying on our correspondence in case of a rupture; a copy of the same was likewise forwarded to Mr. Ellis at Patna.

Whatever we urge to his Excellency in regard to the release of the boats with arms, or the necessity of his placing a proper confidence in us; his general reply is, that we have seized his aumils, that the words of the English are not to be trusted, and that he will not release the boats 'till such time as we remove our troops from Patna, either to this place or to Calcutta. Although he will take no step towards a reconciliation, or to give us satisfaction, yet he, upon all occasions, mentions his desire of peace; in short, his aim seems to be entirely to gain time.

About the same time the following letters were received from the Nabob.

L 5. — *Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.*

Dated May 25, 1763.

AT this time Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay being arrived here, have delivered a list, containing several demands which are unreasonable, and foreign from former treaties and grants. I expected not, whilst you yet remained, that I should be involved in this trouble, and so unjust a negotiation, that in one year new agreements were to be made, so often after the breach of the ancient treaty; that upon every occasion made use of to intimidate me, I shall be threatened with a breach of the treaty, and vexed and mortified without cause, and my affairs obstructed. At this time from the Arzee of Meer Mahdy Cawn Bahadre, I am repeatedly informed, that the troops under Mr. Ellis's charge create continual disturbances and quarrels with my people, and daily leave a fresh root of discussion. From these appearances, all the tenants, and the troops which are at Patna, are ever in alarms, and taking means for their security. This has given, and still gives occasion to the people to believe that there is no longer a friendship and union between us. It affords me a subject of continual anxiety and apprehension, lest (which God forbid) these things should produce a difference between us, and you unjustly reproach me. To this purpose I have spoken to Mr. Amyatt likewise, but the gentlemen do not hear me, nor regard what I say.

This day I received an arzee from Meer Mahdy Cawn, of which I send you a copy for your perusal. If you, gentlemen, intend the English army for my defence, it is proper that you call it from Patna to Calcutta, that it may be called upon in time of need,

need, or else keep it with me at Mongheer, which will put an end to disputes, and restore the currency of affairs between us, and shut up the mouths of the people from so many rumours. But if it is not your design to remove the troops from Patna, and you seek only to disturb my affairs, and to awe and intimidate me; let me know it, that when I have learnt your pleasure I may clear my hands from every business, and all this vexation. To this purpose I have expressed myself to Mr. Amyatt, both by speech and writing.

M 5. — *Copy of a Letter from Meer Mahdy Cawn (Naib of Patna) to the Nabob.*

I Have frequently and repeatedly advised your Excellency, that Mr. Ellis and the troops which are with him, creating troubles and disputes with the people of the Sircar, seek for a rupture. And the tenants and inhabitants of the city, and the Seapoys of this place, seeing this state of things, are fallen into apprehensions and alarms, and are providing for their own security. The people judging from hence that there is no longer a friendship and good understanding between us, raise many reports of different kinds; and the Zemindars, taking the occasion of their not being called upon, withhold their rents, so that the revenues are entirely obstructed. I cannot describe to you how much the affairs of the Nizamut are fallen into confusion. In whatever light you regard these affairs, you will graciously be pleased to issue your orders for the quieting these disorders and troubles, otherwise the whole business of the Government is destroyed, and these mutual animosities, which tend to ruin the interests of both parties, raise suspicions in the mind of the people.

N 5. — *Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.*

Dated May 26, 1763.

WHEN Messrs. Amyatt and Hay came to this place to treat, with a list of demands, I expected that those Gentlemen would inform themselves of every particular, and put an end to all affairs, and matters of contention between us. Accordingly, I send the Aumils with Raja Nobit Roy, and Hafiz Arsar Cawn, that having heard the particulars of the oppressions of the English Gomastahs, they might use such means as might settle every affair. Those gentlemen at once plainly answered, that they wanted not to hear what they had to represent. And in the affair of the forces of Patna likewise, they replied, “For what shall we recal the forces from thence? Nay, we will send other forces; if you have any design to quarrel with us, we are ready.” Again, Mr. Amyatt and yourself formerly wrote to me, that you had never sent any muskets or military stores to Patna. But the day before yesterday, six boats laden with muskets, &c. arrived here from Calcutta. Sir, openly to deny sending any military stores, and secretly to send them in this manner, what can it mean? I have no objection to two or three hundred Englishmen remaining at Patna, but to keep up such a force with Mr. Ellis to ruin my affairs, is very improper; and that Gentleman every day keeps his force in readiness, and creates troubles, and quarrels with my people. Therefore I write, that I will not suffer a larger force than two or three hundred men to remain with Mr. Ellis. If you, gentlemen, regard your words and engagements, and the condition on which you received Burdwan,

&c.

&c. from me, for the expences of your army, it is fit that in conformity thereto you recal the said forces, and place them with me, or remove them to Calcutta; if not, write me a plain answer.

P. S. I am yet ready to comply with your word, but things are brought to the last extremity, and however desirous I am of avoiding the worst, yet I see no means of it, and my patience is near exhausted; wherefore, I write this beforehand for your information.

N. B. A copy of the answer which I wrote to the list of demands presented to me by Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, I send inclosed for your perusal.

O 5. — These letters being laid before the Board, a general Council was held upon them on the 9th of June, in which it was resolved, that the troops should not be removed from Patna, and that if the Nabob persisted to demand it, or to detain the boats of arms, Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should be directed to leave Mongheer. At the same time the gentlemen at Patna were advised of these resolutions, and ordered to act as might be directed by Messrs. Amyatt and Hay.

The motives of these resolutions will be explained by the following extract of the debates which produced them.

Extract of Consultation of the 9th of June, (present Messrs. Batson, Adams, Billers, Cartier, Hastings, Marriott, and Watts.)

The Governor sends to the Board the following letter, which he has just received from Mr. Amyatt.

“ His Excellency has received a Kallaat from the
“ King, which the day before yesterday he put on in
“ form, and last night he made an entertainment for
“ us on the occasion.

“ The arms still continue stopt; they lie in
 “ boats on the opposite side of the river, surround-
 “ ed by his Seapoys. He still insists on our forces
 “ being withdrawn from Patna and other places,
 “ to convince him and all the country of our
 “ peaceful intentions, and then he is ready to issue
 “ any Perwanahs we please for the forwarding our
 “ business. He does not rightly declare which of
 “ the articles he will comply with, but, I perceive,
 “ he will not give Sunnuds for the lands, nor con-
 “ sent to a resident being with him, nor establish
 “ the other mints, but will endeavour to take
 “ some measure to prevent our being sufferers by
 “ our Rupees. He will not agree to our punish-
 “ ing his servants, nor do I think we ought to in-
 “ sist upon it, but alter that article, to be punish-
 “ ed by him, after our Chief has heard and repre-
 “ sented the case, and for us to chastize them if he
 “ delays or neglects to do it. The Seets, I am
 “ persuaded, he will keep here, nor suffer them
 “ to be of much consequence in future; likely he
 “ will not use them ill, nor take their money at
 “ present. He denies the agreement with you,
 “ though says if he did, ’tis not any where in
 “ writing. He requires satisfaction from us for
 “ any immediate damage done him by our people,
 “ when he is ready to make good our’s, that may
 “ be proved against any of his Aumils and Cho-
 “ kies, excepting Mahomed Aly, whom you have
 “ in your hands to do with as you please. He
 “ objects to our working or cultivating his lands
 “ any where, or purchasing any thing from them
 “ at first hand, it deprives him of his duties and
 “ advantage therefrom. In short, he objects to
 “ every thing, and says it is our own private inte-
 “ rest we want to benefit, the Company’s being no
 “ where molested, nor does he want to molest it.
 “ We told him he must grant a free trade, which

“ was our right, and if in any particular he was
“ much aggrieved or suffered thereby, to represent
“ it to the Council, and they could restrain them-
“ selves and others, to serve him, but no restraints
“ from his people would be admitted of, as under
“ that pretence they would hurt and injure the
“ trade. I have done my utmost endeavours to
“ persuade him to a thorough confidence, but I
“ believe it is all in vain. I have also represented
“ to him his danger to as little purpose. He seems
“ very indifferent at present, and no ways anxious.
“ He swears he does not want to quarrel with us,
“ and will do every thing; at the same time he in
“ a manner refuses every thing. Thus matters
“ stand in the same situation as at the first day. I
“ believe he does not stop or impede the business,
“ but will not permit arms or men to go to Patna,
“ for which reason we have never mentioned our
“ troops moving for that place.

“ A Perwanah is gone to clear the petre. He
“ said he thought the produce of that place did
“ not belong to us.”

The President also transmits to the Board his opinion of the measures proper to be taken in the present situation of affairs with the Nabob.

O 5. a — *The Governor's Opinion.*

If the Nabob detains the arms, it can be looked upon no other than as an open act of hostility, and I think Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should be directed to make such a final declaration to the Nabob, and if they are not then delivered up, to take their leave.

But supposing the Nabob to make satisfaction for this ill-advised step, it should be considered, whether his answers to the several articles delivered him by Mr. Amyatt are such as ought, when coolly and separately reflected on, to resolve us to

engage the Company in a war with the Nabob. Or if it is admitted, that every article is not of so much consequence, that it should be considered which are, and which are not, and instructions sent Mr. Amyatt accordingly.

The placing our troops with the Nabob as he desires, would certainly be a means of establishing a confidence in each other, and of making that confidence appear to the world, and at the same time answer all the purposes of preserving our influence, and securing the tranquillity of the country. Yet I am not for removing them upon the Nabob's demand, but if he will comply with the articles delivered him by Mr. Amyatt, or the material ones, I think this request might then be granted, and that Mr. Amyatt should be empowered to give him to understand as much.

Lastly, If a rupture is unavoidable, the season should be considered, the state of the treasury, and the peace in Europe, by which the French will be repossessed of their factory.

The troops from hence could not at this time march by land to join the detachment at Patna, therefore it may be adviseable to defer publishing the resolutions of the Board, whatever they may be.

All the papers being read and considered, the members likewise delivered their opinions as follows.

O 5. b ——— *Mr. Watts's Opinion.*

The Nabob's behaviour since Messrs. Amyatt and Hay's arrival at Mongheer, leaves no room to expect he will ever enter into any terms with us; but on the contrary, it appears from it, that he only waits for a proper opportunity to break with us, and by his several replies to the demands, and Messrs. Amyatt and Hay's letters, it is very evident he places no confidence in us, and as we have

no reason to place any in him, I therefore think that his demanding our troops at Patna to be recalled, ought not to be complied with; that as the rainy season is so near advanced, a letter should be wrote to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay to take their leave of the Nabob, and return to Calcutta or Patna, as they think proper; that they may demand the release of the boats, but although complied with, not to remain there any longer, but to acquaint the Nabob, that if he has any proposals to make he must send them to the President and Council, who will reply to them; that as soon as they think it will be out of the power of the Nabob to stop them, they shall write to Mr. Ellis and the Council at Patna to follow the regulations laid down in case of a rupture.

That as the Nabob is raising forces every where, and it plainly appears that he only wants to gain time, a letter should be wrote to Patna to acquaint the gentlemen there that we judge a rupture unavoidable; and that as there is reason to expect the Nabob will take every advantage, they have our orders, in case they have certain intelligence of his marching towards Patna, to take any steps that will distress him, and look upon him as an enemy.

That as he does suspect the Nabob will attempt to detain Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, he thinks they ought in such case to have the power of declaring the rupture, and that a note from them to the Chief and Council at Patna should be sufficient for their acting, as if received from the Board.

Mr. Marriott's Opinion.

Mr. Marriott is of opinion, that a letter be immediately wrote to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, directing them, in case the Nabob has not released

the boats with arms, to quit Mongheer, and either return to Calcutta or go to Patna, as they may judge most eligible for insuring their own safety; and that application to the Nabob on this occasion should be left to their discretion. That the troops at Patna should not be removed, agreeable to his demands, as their remaining at that place will prevent the Rajahs on the borders of the Province from taking any advantage of the present appearance of a rupture happening between the Nabob and us, by making an invasion into his territories. That if the Nabob either does, or has released the arms, and will comply with the most material demands, some of the others might be given up, particularly those mentioned by Mr. Amyatt in his letter to the President. First, regarding the Jagheery Sunnuds for the Provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, as possession, and the force we maintain in the country will always secure them to us. Secondly, That regarding our punishing his Officers, this article he thinks might be altered, that application should be first made to the Nabob on the occasion, of any complaints against them; and that we should only observe the method already laid down, upon his refusing to give us satisfaction for the same. Thirdly; The article concerning the mints.

That in case Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should be obliged to leave the Nabob, orders should be sent to the gentlemen at Patna to act agreeable to former instructions, unless they receive some certain intelligence that the Nabob is marching for Patna, in which case they should be ordered to act on the offensive, and endeavour to seize the city by a coup de main.

He further thinks Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should hear what the Nabob has to alledge concerning

Relative to the Disturbances in BENGAL. 231
cerning the losses of the Sircar by our Agents or Gomastahs.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

Though I have from the beginning expressed my disapprobation of the measures taken in our late unhappy disputes with the Nabob, and which have given occasion to the temper which he at this time shews towards us, yet after having gone such lengths, I cannot but think it very unbecoming to submit quietly to so open an act of violence, as he has been guilty of in the stoppage of the boats of arms. It is therefore my opinion, that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay be ordered to demand of the Nabob the immediate clearance of those boats, in the name of the President and Council; and in case of his refusal to declare that it will be deemed equal to a declaration of a rupture on his side, and that they do accordingly take their leave of him and return to Calcutta; but if he consents to release the boats, and expresses a willingness to yield to our demands, I think we cannot in justice to him, or consistently with the interests of the Company, refuse to comply with the demand he has made, that the detachment of our forces now at Patna may be stationed with him; the alarms of the people cannot be so effectually appeased as by the appearance of a confidence, such as this will occasion between the Nabob and us. The Nabob will derive more benefit from our influence whilst our troops are with him, and it will be less in his power to form any ill design against us, whilst we have such a check continually upon him.

I agree with the President, that in case of the Nabob's objecting to any of the demands, it should be determined by the Board what should be insisted upon, and what may be dispensed with, and Messrs. Amyatt and Hay instructed accordingly; in which
4 distinction

distinction the Board will doubtless consider the real interest and honour of the Company, and not involve them in a war, which must at all events prove of great detriment to them, for ends indifferent, or inadequate to the expence and risk which may accrue to them for it.

I am likewise of opinion, that if Messrs. Amyatt and Hay find the Nabob in a proper temper to yield to the proposals offered him, they may privately signify to him, that the Board will consent to the removal of the Patna detachment, as he desires, provided he first complies with our demands.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

Mr. Cartier judges it adviseable, that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should be immediately recalled from Mongheer, as it appears to him from the advices received from those gentlemen, that the Nabob has no other design by prevailing upon them to stay (after a flat refusal almost of every demand they were empowered to make, and the hostile act of detaining the arms sending to the Patna factory) than to gain time to answer some purpose that may be very prejudicial to our affairs; that it appears to him a very probable circumstance, the Nabob's principal view is to engage us in a scene of negotiation, 'till such time as the season of the year will render any military operations nearly impracticable; which, when the case, he will have it in his power to bend his whole force to oppress our troops at Patna; that the party there should by no means be removed from that place in compliance with the Nabob's request at this present juncture; that if Messrs. Amyatt and Hay are allowed to quit Mongheer without concluding the business they were sent on, it is his opinion, the army (when those gentlemen are so far advanced on their way

as

as to be out of danger) should be immediately ordered to march to Cossimbuzar, and take post there, which will be the means of preserving the health of the people, and by such a motion of the troops, the Nabob will be convinced that something more is designed than mere negotiation.

Mr. Billers's Opinion.

Mr. Billers is of opinion, That as the Nabob still persists in detaining the arms, it should be looked upon as an act of hostility, that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should therefore be immediately directed to leave Mongheer, and that our army should march to Cossimbuzar; for at present it seems as if the Nabob only wanted to gain time, and endeavour to embarrass us as much as possible, by the rains coming on. He thinks the troops at Patna ought by no means to be removed at this juncture, and that if Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should quit Mongheer, the Patna gentlemen should be permitted to take such measures as they may judge best for their own safety, and the Company's interests.

Major Adams's Opinion.

Major Adams is of opinion, That the troops should by no means, for the present, be removed from Patna; but that it should be left to the pleasure of the Board to dispose of them as they think proper, if matters can be amicably accommodated. That any particular articles of the demands which the Nabob mostly objects to, should be transmitted to the Board, with his reasons, that they may be re-considered, and it determined whether they shall still be insisted on, or may not be moderated; but before any regard is paid to either of these points, he thinks orders should be sent to Messrs. Amyatt
and

and Hay to demand the release of the arms, and at the same time acquaint the Nabob, that should it not be immediately complied with, they have orders to leave his court; that they will make this demand, and intimation, if they think it consistent with their own safety and that of the party, otherwise retire to Patna, or take such other rout as they may judge most eligible and conducive to their own security; and when they find themselves out of his power, to transmit him in writing the orders of the Board; and, lastly, that if Messrs. Amyatt and Hay quit Mongheer, the gentlemen at Patna should be left to act as they judge most proper for their own security, and the Company's interest.

Mr. Batson's Opinion.

I am of opinion, That we can by no means consent to withdraw our troops from Patna; that the Nabob's desire of having them with him at Mongheer is insincere, his real design being only to get them removed from Patna; that our withdrawing them will be a great step towards ruining entirely our influence and power in the country, and therefore I esteem it highly detrimental and dishonourable to the Company and nation.

I am further of opinion, That the Nabob's evil disposition towards our nation is evident beyond dispute; nay, that it is avowed, by his insisting on our withdrawing our troops from Patna, and by the act of hostility he has already committed in seizing our arms, that it will be weakness to think of treating any longer with him, as he has refused several times to comply with our demands, and all his answers are filled with sneers, reproaches, and calumnies; that therefore Messrs. Amyatt and Hay

Hay should be directed to endeavour by stratagem or otherwise to get the arms released if possible, and return to Calcutta as soon as they can, or go to Patna if they judge the former impracticable; that on their departure they should advise the gentlemen at Patna, and direct them to act as they may judge best for the service.

Questions proposed.

The several opinions being read, to render the resolutions to be taken more clear, the following distinct questions were stated and put at the Board.

Question the First.

Shall the Nabob's demand of removing the detachment from Patna be consented to, or not?

Answer.

The Board unanimously think it ought not.

Question the Second.

In case of the Nabob's compliance with our demands, shall the Patna detachment be removed and stationed at Mongheer, or not?

Answer.

The majority, viz. Messrs. Watts, Cartier, Billers, and Batson, think it ought not.

Question the Third.

Shall Messrs. Amyatt and Hay be directed to leave Mongheer immediately on the receipt of the letter we now send them, or remain to treat further with the Nabob?

Answer.

Answer.

The majority, viz. Messrs. Marriott, Hastings, Billers, and Major Adams, are of opinion, That if the arms are not released they should come away; if they are, that they should stay to treat further, and that it should rest in their option to make a fresh demand of their release, or not.

Messrs. Watts, Cartier and Batson, think they ought to return immediately, on the receipt of orders now to be sent them.

Question the Fourth.

If the Nabob continues to insist on the removal of the troops, as a preliminary to his entering upon any treaty, although he releases the arms, shall Messrs. Amyatt and Hay remain to treat further with him, or not?

Answer.

All the members (except Mr. Hastings) think that they ought in such case immediately to leave Mongheer.

Mr. Hastings's Dissent.

Mr. Hastings dissents because he has given his opinion that the troops might be removed from Patna, and does not think that the Nabob's refusal to any one of the demands sufficient to justify our breaking with him.

Resolution of the Majority.

Agreed that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay be wrote to in the following terms: That we cannot consent to the Nabob's demand of removing the troops from Patna, and therefore if he persists in making that a preliminary, and refuses to treat on other terms, or to release the boats of arms, they are in
either

either case immediately to leave Mongheer, and return to Calcutta, if they think it practicable, or otherwise take such other rout as they may judge most eligible for their safety. That if they think it unsafe to notify these resolutions to the Nabob, and that it may induce him to detain them at Mongheer, we permit them to come away without mentioning our resolution any further to him. That on their departure from Mongheer, they are to advise us and the gentlemen at Patna, directing them to be upon their guard, and to act in the manner they judge most proper for their own security, in case the Nabob marches or sends any troops to attack them.

Agreed that we write likewise to Patna, and inclose them a copy of these orders to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, and desire them to act as they may be directed by those gentlemen.

Mr. Hastings's Dissent.

I enter my dissent to the two last paragraphs of the letter ordered to be wrote to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, for the following reasons.

Though I do not believe that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay desire such a permission as is here given them, to leave the Nabob without informing him of the resolutions of the Board, in case of his persisting to detain the arms, or to demand as a preliminary the removal of our troops from Patna; yet I think it very unbecoming in the Board to grant them such permission, after having entered into a treaty with the Nabob, and flattered him with repeated assurances of our desire of an accommodation, abruptly to break it off and declare war against him; since one is made a consequence of the other, without letting him know the terms on which our friendship depends: what is this but to insnare the Nabob into a rupture, which he might avoid,

avoid, if he was certain that his insisting on those points would be the cause of one, and which I am convinced he would wish to avoid by every concession that should be required of him as the means of peace, since he has no force to oppose us, and it is well known he has no dependence, and can have none but on our friendship.

I cannot for my own part, see how Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should run a greater risk now than hitherto, from a free declaration of the sentiments of the Board to the Nabob; nor can I see any reason to suspect him of forming any treacherous designs against the persons of those gentlemen, as I know of no act of his that can justify that opinion of him; and such an attempt if made, could answer no end.

The order given to the Chief and Council at Patna, to take such measures as they think proper for their security in case of the Nabob's marching or sending any forces to attack them, is authorizing those gentlemen to commit open hostilities against the Nabob, on the first pretence offered them by the march of a few men from Mongheer to Patna, or the false reports of their Hircarahs, who may tell them that the Nabob or his forces are on the road to attack them. 'Till, therefore, they are openly attacked, or the Board have declared war against the Nabob, I object to any power put into their hands to commence a war themselves.

P 5.—It should be remarked, that the Governor was not present himself at this consultation, having been for some days confined by sickness, and therefore knew not of the resolutions of the Board 'till acquainted with them afterwards by the Secretary; when apprised of them, he desired there might be another meeting of the Council the next day: and
he

he detained the dispatches, that this matter might be reconsidered, as he judged the orders sent to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay precipitate.

The Council being met, the President's opinion was delivered by the Secretary, being contained in a letter, which when read, effected an alteration in the orders to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay.

The following is an extract (from the consultations) on his letter to the Secretary, and the resolutions taken in consequence of it.

Extract of Consultation of the 10th June (present Messrs. Billers, Adams, Cartier, and Marriott).

The Secretary lays before the Board the following letter, which he this morning received from the Governor.

S I R,

“ **A**S my late indisposition prevents my attending the Board, I must take this method of delivering my opinion upon the instructions which should be sent to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, in answer to the last advices received from them.

“ If the Nabob refuses to treat further with those gentlemen, without our removing our troops from Patna by way of preliminary, I think in that case they should take their leave, as I am not for consenting to make a change in the situation of our troops upon such a demand.

“ But supposing the arms to be released, and that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay find the Nabob in a disposition to treat, without insisting on the removal of our Troops from Patna as a preliminary, then I think those gentlemen should be furnished with instructions what further to say
“ to

“ to the Nabob; and those instructions, I think,
 “ should be with respect to the troops at Patna,
 “ to represent to the Nabob that they were sta-
 “ tioned there with a view of being in readiness
 “ to assist him wherever his affairs might require
 “ it, and that they should be ready to act in con-
 “ formity to that view, as soon as the present dif-
 “ ferences between us were accommodated. They
 “ should be further directed to call upon the Na-
 “ bob for his particular objections to the several
 “ articles or demands delivered him; and having
 “ transmitted the same to the Board, it should be
 “ considered which are material to be insisted on.

“ Some answer should likewise be sent to Messrs.
 “ Amyatt and Hay, regarding Mahomed Aly, and
 “ the other Officers of the Government at present
 “ kept here prisoners. The Nabob says as we have
 “ seized them, and have them in our hands, we
 “ may take our own satisfaction for the losses some
 “ have suffered in their private trade. We should
 “ either tell Messrs. Amyatt and Hay that we will
 “ do so, or else we should send those Officers up to
 “ them, with instructions to deliver them to the
 “ Nabob, desiring him to oblige them to make
 “ good such losses; at the same time, receiving
 “ from the Government's Officers the accounts of
 “ losses they have suffered by the violence of En-
 “ glish Agents, and Gomastahs; and this second
 “ method I think the most proper.

“ Neither the Company's nor private trade meet
 “ at present with any interruptions. This is an
 “ essential reason why we ought to avoid, if pos-
 “ sible, engaging our Employers in an expensive
 “ war, and involving the country in troubles, to
 “ their great loss, as well as that of the settlement
 “ in general.

“ The low state of our Treasury, and the peace
 “ in Europe, by which the French will be repos-
 “ sessed

“ fessed of their settlements in this country, are in
“ my opinion, other strong reasons why we should,
“ if possible, keep on good terms with the Nabob.
“ Finally, I think that further instructions should
“ be sent to the gentlemen at Patna, concerning
“ their manner of acting, in case a rupture with the
“ Nabob should be unavoidable; with reference, I
“ mean, to the reason which would prevent the
“ troops from hence marching by land to join
“ those at Patna; and going up by boats would
“ take a long time. Upon this article I submit
“ myself to the judgement of Major Adams.”

The same being read and considered.

Agreed that we write in consequence, a further letter to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, acquainting them, that supposing the arms to be released, and they should find the Nabob inclinable still to treat, without insisting on the removal of the troops from Patna as a preliminary, they may assure him, that those troops have been always stationed there for the security of his Government, and to maintain the tranquillity of the country; and that they shall still continue to act in conformity to this view. That they shall then call upon the Nabob for his particular objections to the several articles or demands delivered him, and transmit them to us; when we shall consider, and determine which of them are so material as to require being still insisted on, and which may be moderated: that if the Nabob should again make mention of Mahomed Aly, and the other prisoners here, we leave it to him to judge, whether we had best prosecute the enquiry against them ourselves, or send them up to them to have it finished in presence of the Nabob, and to give him their answers accordingly: that they may receive from the Government's Officers the amounts of any losses they say they have sustained

tained by the violences of the English agents and Gomastahs, upon their being properly authenticated; and again assure the Nabob, that for whatever appears to be just he shall receive full satisfaction.

On the further subject of the Governor's letter, the Board are of opinion, that their utmost endeavours have been already used to prevent the country's being involved in troubles, or their employers engaged in an expensive war; and that they can now leave it only to time to satisfy them, whether these endeavours will prove ineffectual. That the circumstance of a peace in Europe, and the supposition drawn from thence, that the French will obtain a re-establishment here, is rather a strong reason why we should employ the most spirited methods to become immediately assured of the Nabob's intentions and disposition towards us, and not delay time in a fruitless negotiation: that with regard to the last paragraph of the Governor's letter referred to the judgment of Major Adams, the Major, with the rest of the members, think it unnecessary to send further instructions to Patna than those contained in the letter yesterday to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, and whereof a copy was transmitted to that factory.

Q 5.—On the 13th we received a letter from Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, advising us that the arms still continued under seizure; that all conversation with the Nabob upon business was at a stand; that the Nabob, buoyed up with the notion of his own strength, shewed by all his actions, that he was resolved on a rupture, which they now look upon as unavoidable, and therefore wished us to remove them out of his power as soon as possible. In answer, we recommended to them to temporize in any manner they could, to get themselves out of the Nabob's hands, in case they still judged a
rupture

rupture unavoidable, and that he designs to detain them.

On the 17th we received a letter from the same gentlemen, which confirmed their former sentiments; and the same day the following letters were received from Mr. Ellis, which brought the prospect of war but nearer to our view, and left the Board nothing now to do but approve of his measures, and wait the issue.

*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Ellis to the
Governor and Council.*

Dated 5th June 1763.

THE Nabob, whose brain is ever teeming with inventions to distress and render us subservient to his tyranny, has now hit upon a method of doing it very effectually, by inveighling away our Seapoys. His emissaries employed on this service, promise to the private men double the pay we give, advancing them one month, and to the Officers a promotion in rank; and so well hath his scheme succeeded, that we have lost 200 men since the first instant, amongst whom are many Officers, and the remainder old Seapoys perfectly versed in our discipline.

It is now near four months that we have been in a most perplexing state of suspense, just between the bounds of peace and war, with the Government here, and during that time have patiently born the many insults daily offered us, insomuch that our people begin to think, and with some appearance of reason, that we cannot do ourselves justice, which is another motive for their going over to the Nabob.

This, Gentlemen, merits your most serious and immediate consideration; for I do assure you, if

we remain much longer in the situation we have been in for some time past, there will not be 500 old Seapoys left in the two battalions here, (which I can safely say were inferior to none in service) and the unhappy consequences that may attend our acting with a parcel of raw undisciplined people, against those whom we have taught to be soldiers, are sufficiently obvious.

The Nabob, in order to bring every force against us which it is possible to collect, has made up matters with Comgar Cawn, and put him in possession of the country he before held. The Seapoys who were stationed there, to the number of about one thousand, arrived here this day.

R 5.—*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Ellis to the Governor and Council.*

Dated 6th June 1763

OUR Seapoys still continuing to desert in great numbers, I have judged it most expedient, and for the good of the service, to order the whole party to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning, and have thereby entitled them to Batta.

This is the only means of putting a stop to the desertion, and if it has the desired effect, will be well worth the expence.

S 5.—The next day we received two more letters from Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, containing an account of an affront offered to some of the gentlemen of their Company by the Nabob's Chokies, and mentioning that the Nabob still insisted on the removal of our troops from Patna, and satisfaction for the grievances; that parties of horse were stationed all round them to prevent their escape, and that 5000
men

men were detached to Bengal, with other circumstances, confirming their opinion that the Nabob would not treat.

To this opinion the Board formally entered their assent, and proceeded to form a plan for the conduct of the war, whenever it should break out.

The following disposition was resolved upon accordingly, with which Messrs. Amyatt and Hay were acquainted, and again directed to leave Mongheer as they could.

T 5.—Extract of Consultation of the 18th June 1763, (present Messrs. Vanfittart, Adams, Billers, Cartier, Hastings, Marriott, and Watts.)

It is agreed therefore, in order to form a front for the protection of the Company's aurungs and lands, to secure their investment and revenues in the best manner possible, and to endeavour to collect what we can from the other provinces, to answer the expence of the war, that our troops be immediately prepared for taking post according to the following disposition.

Captain Knox with his detachment in the province of Beerboom.

A detachment of 200 of the Company's troops and 300 Seapoys, in the province of Nuddea or Kishnagur.

The body of the army from Ghyretty at Cossimbuzar, to possess themselves of the city of Moorshedabad.

That in this disposition the troops shall march as nearly as possible in a line, so as to be able to support each other, and the whole to act under the orders of Major Adams.

The distance of Captain Knox's present station at Jellalore being considerable,

Agreed, That whilst the other preparations are making, he be directed to march to Midnapoor, and there wait with his party in readiness for moving, until he shall receive our further orders, leaving behind him one company of Seapoys and two or three Gunners, to defend the post at Jellalore.

U 5.—As there was now so great an appearance of an approaching rupture, it was judged necessary to come to some certain resolution with respect to the Government of the country on such an event, supposing the removal of Meer Cossim from the Subadary should be the issue; likewise with respect to the precautions which should be taken for reimbursing to the Company the expence of the impending war, and to private merchants the losses which they might sustain in their concerns in the country. On these points the several members were to come prepared with their opinions to the next meeting, which was held accordingly on the 20th; and the following are the opinions delivered in by the several members.

*Extract of Consultation of the 20th June 1763,
(present Messrs. Vansittart, Adams, Billers,
Cartier, Hastings, Marriott, and Watts.)*

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

Mr. Watts is of opinion, that should a rupture be unavoidable, the best method would be the taking of the Government into our own hands, on account of the Company; but as the keeping of it and settling it properly will require a large force, he thinks it at present impracticable, and that the attempting it would be running a risk of involving the country in a scene of war, which, with our present force, we could not soon put a stop to.

He

He therefore judges, that the most adviseable method will be, the fixing upon a person who has some influence in the country ; but that before we declare him, a treaty ought to be made, and every precaution taken, to prevent any disputes hereafter, which will be unavoidable, if the limits of each party's power are not fixed ; as also the liberties of our trade settled. These two points require much consideration, and as each party must give up something to the other, he begs leave to defer giving his further sentiments at present.

The person who shall be appointed should pay to the Company the charges that may attend the war ; but as it cannot be expected he will, or it may so happen that he will not, have ready money to answer this, and the many other demands he will have on him, at his arising to the Government, and the pressing him for the payment might give uneasiness ; he thinks a grant of certain lands might be given the Company for ever, and he would prefer the following, as they may be maintained with a very little expence, are almost secured against any invasion, and are those in which the greatest part of the Company's goods are manufactured.

All the lands bounded on the West by the Houghly-river, on the North by the Jellinghury-river, on the East by the Pudda, and South by the sea.

All lands and cities which lie between the South-bank of the Magna [or any other great river to the northward of the city of Dacca] and the sea, and as far East as that river may run.

He also thinks that the person fixed upon should make restitution for all private losses.

Mr. Marriott's Opinion.

In regard to the settling the country in case of a rupture with the Nabob, and the removal of him from the Subaship, which now appears unavoidable ; the first disposition that occurs, is the taking the country into our own hands, calling ourselves Dewan for the King, and applying to him accordingly for Sunnuds, promising and paying him his annual revenues for the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixas, as former Nabobs used to do, and which latter ones have never done. This disposition, however, is liable to many objections, and at present impracticable, as our whole force is very insufficient to keep possession of such a tract of country.

The next method that occurs, is the fixing on another man as Nabob, who may be more under our direction than the present ; for there appears no medium that can be observed : we must either govern him, or he will us, and we must submit to have affairs on the footing they were in Seraja Dowla's time, if such a step is not followed.

If putting another Subah in the Government is approved, the next thing to be considered is the person proper for the purpose ; and being unacquainted with any of the present Nabob's Jemmâdars, or other men of family in the country, I can think of no one but the late Nabob, whose chief cause for resigning the Subaship being then removed, would take the weight of the Government again on himself, and agree to what we might propose ; which, I shall think, need only be the demands now made upon Cossim Aly Cawn, with a stipulation of the number of troops he should keep up, and also of the number of ours he should have about his person.

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With regard to the reimbursing the Company for the expences of the war, a calculation should be made of them as near as possible, and such a sum required for the payment, either in money, or in the revenues of a tract of lands, called and collected by the Company, till such sum was discharged.—It should likewise be stipulated, that the person promoted should make good the losses private persons may sustain on this occasion, but the necessary amount cannot be determined on at present ; and that he should make a gratuity in money to the military, for their services.

Many objections I am sensible may be started against reinstating the old Nabob, one, our Honourable masters approved of the late change ; but yet, if their noble acquisitions are continued to them, and tranquillity restored in the country, I flatter myself, they will not object to the name of Meer Jaffier Aly, whose natural resentment against us may be changed, and if it should not, it may be curbed, by keeping always some of our troops with him.

The late Nabob's weak capacity, that was made an argument against him, I think would, consistent with good politics, rather plead in his favour, as it certainly can never be the Company's interest to have an enterprising Nabob for the Subah of these provinces ; it being so natural for a man in that station to endeavour at all rates to render himself independent.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

Whatever be the event of a war with the Nabob, which I yet hope may be avoided, as, I have ever declared against all the measures which have led to it, I might well decline giving my opinion with respect to the fittest establishment to take place upon

upon the subversion of the present ; but I must confess, that this is a point of such difficulty, that I must of necessity leave it to abilities superior to my own, to point out such a provision, as may serve both to remedy the divisions and bloodshed, which such a change will introduce in the country, and to preserve the English name from reproach, and the Company from sinking with the weight of their own acquisitions.—These consequences I think unavoidable, though there is little likelihood that our dispute with the Nabob will be of long duration or give us much trouble.

For reimbursing the Company's expences, and the loss which their trade, as well as that of private merchants may sustain in the course of the war, care should be taken to assign a proper and limited fund for that purpose, which may be determined upon whenever the plan is fixed for the operations of the war.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

The keeping of this immense tract of country, for the use and service of the Honourable Company, would lead us into such a scene of difficulties, that we should not easily get above, nor do I think the civil or military body on this establishment sufficiently large for the management and protection of the same, which would be the means of giving birth to endless wars and oppressions, and produce disaffections among the natives. These, among other reasons that might be urged, are sufficient with me to disapprove a step of this nature ; but as a war being in my opinion now unavoidable, it becomes necessary to consider what measures are most likely to bring it to a speedy conclusion, as well as those which may tend to support us in its duration ; it is therefore in my opinion absolutely
necessary

necessary we aim to form and fix an alliance with such Officers that may be in, or out of employ under the present Government, whose influence or credit might be of real service ; and that we immediately declare in favour of some person as Subah of this province, whose interest in it might facilitate the method of gaining over those Officers.

—The restoring of Meer Jaffier Aly Cawn to his former dignity, would be the most likely means of effecting those ends, and in all human probability most agreeable to the country : It would furthermore be doing an act of justice to a man, who, in my opinion, never injured us : though I declared in favour of Meer Jaffier Aly Cawn, I think we ought to regulate certain matters with him, as might tend to a solid establishment of his Government, and preserve our own influence, which, if not abused, the restrictions we may subject him to, will, I hope, be considered as a method best adapted to continue a lasting peace to the country. The restrictions are, as follows :

1st, That his standing force should not exceed 5000 effective horse, and 10,000 gun-men, and this body to be distributed on the different frontiers of his country. That his constant residence be at Moorshedabad, and that no more than 500 horse and 2000 gun-men do take post there ; Mongheer to be evacuated by the Court of his Excellency, and to be garrisoned as a fort : that a corps of 250 Europeans, and a battalion of Seapoys be always in cantonments at Cossimbuzar, for the protection of his Excellency's person, in case of necessity.

2d, That a treaty, previous to the operations of our army should be settled with the Nabob on the above points ; likewise as to the grants of Jagheery Sunnuds for the three provinces of Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong, the settlement of our
trade,

trade, on the footing we demand it to be on, until the pleasure of the Company is known, and a ratification of the rest of the several demands made on Cossim Aly Cawn, which we may think indispensibly necessary to stick to.

That the expences of the war be defrayed by the Nabob, and indemnification for all real losses, that may be sustained by private persons of this settlement in the course of the war, and since the commencement of these disputes, if owing to them : The capture of whatever treasure may be made from the present Nabob, to belong to Meer Jaffier, to enable him to answer the above disbursements, and to make a gratification to the troops of his Majesty, and those of the Company.

Mr. Billers's Opinion.

Mr. Billers gives it as his opinion, that if the present Nabob is in consequence of a war removed from the Subaship, a person of influence should be put in possession of the Government, for on a declaration of such our intention, it is to be imagined many of the Zemindars that are disaffected to the present Subah, would declare themselves in our favour. He would have such persons put under proper restrictions ; likewise those Sunnuds for the lands now called Tuncaws, changed into Jagheery Sunnuds, and confirmed by him as such, and the several remaining articles insisted on from the present Nabob, ratified by him : that he should be obliged to hold his Court at Moorshedabad, and evacuate Mongheer, and only look on it as a frontier town, and guard it as such : he should be allowed a proper number of troops to guard the three provinces and collect his revenues, which number should be settled by the Governor and Council, and limited so as to put it out of his power to hurt
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the English : he should be put in possession of all the treasure that may be found in Mongheer, and such riches as may belong to the present Nabob.

For reimbursing the expences of the Company, and losses sustained by private people, he should be obliged to allow a certain sum which may hereafter be stipulated,

If he (Mr. Billers) is called upon to nominate a man, he thinks the former Nabob, Meer Jaffie, Aly Cawn, in every respect a proper person. •

He is further of opinion, that a proper recompence should be made both to the King's and Company's troops, for putting the person fixed upon in full possession of the Government.

Major Adams's Opinion.

In case it should be deemed necessary to remove the Nabob, in consequence of a war, I think it will be requisite to set some person up in opposition to him, whose influence in the country may draw to his and our assistance many of the Nabob's Officers.

As I am not acquainted with either the influence or abilities of the principal men of the country, I beg leave to refer to the sentiments of the other Gentlemen at the Board, whose personal acquaintance with them, and knowledge of their characters, enables them to judge who would be the properest person to treat with on an affair of such importance.

The person nominated should, I think, be laid under such restrictions, as to render him incapable of disturbing the trade and tranquillity of the country, and oblige himself to reimburse the Company the whole expence of the war, and satisfy the private merchants for the losses they may sustain ; but that no step should be taken in the affair until
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the Board have received answers to their letters written to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, on the 9th and 10th instant.

The President's Opinion.

Although some of the demands made on the Nabob, and which have occasioned his present ill disposition, are such as I have always disapproved, and thought unjust, and such as the Company's interests are no way concerned in, yet I hoped and believed the Nabob would have acquiesced therein, and waited with patience until an answer could be received from the Court of Directors. But as he is so rash and ill advised, as to commit acts of violence against us of such a nature, as portend a total rupture, I shall use all diligence in forwarding the necessary preparations for such an event; and notwithstanding my disapprobation of the steps by which this war is likely to be brought on, at a time when the Company's business meets with no interruption, yet, when hostilities do unavoidably commence, no one will be more forward in promoting such vigorous measures, as seem most conducive to bring it to a speedy issue.

While such measures are pursuing, and we are here; as but war, I shall think it my duty to remain in a state of soon as I see our Honourable masters affairs restored to a state of security and tranquillity, I am determined to quit the chair, as I will never be concerned in a second regulation of the Government of the provinces, after the deposing of Cossim Aly Cawn, which I suppose to be the intent of the war, and in all human probability, will be speedily accomplished.

I was one of the Board of select committee, who in the month of September 1760, determined
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on the treaty with Cossim Aly Cawn, which soon after brought him to the Nizâmut. Although our resolutions were unanimous, some members, who were at that time not in Bengal, raised afterwards abundance of objections, were not sparing of reproaches against the members who were present, and some even declared they thought that treaty not binding upon them: a strong opposition was formed thereon, and every opportunity has since been taken of aggravating disputes with the Nabob, by which means jealousies and suspicions have been nourished, until they are grown to the state in which we now see them.

Thus experienced, it is not surprising that I should be unwilling to give my vote for any particular person to succeed Cossim Aly Cawn, or to enter into a discussion of the Company's right to nominate to such succession, upon which some doubts may arise, for although they may contract with the nearest heir to support his pretensions, which was the nature of our engagement with Cossim Aly Cawn, it may not follow that they have a right to proceed to a new appointment, in case there be no heir to the same family: but as it is my design that my Government shall expire as soon as Cossim Aly Cawn is deposed, and the tranquillity of the country restored; it is more for our Honourable masters benefit, and the welfare of the province, that all questions relative to the succession, be decided by those who will remain here to support the person in whose favour they may turn.

Whatever may be the resolutions of the Board, I shall do my utmost to promote their successful execution, as long as I remain in the chair; and the person who may be treated with, I think should engage to pay the Company such a sum as may be stipulated for the expences of the war; as likewise such further sum as shall be agreed on for indemnification

demnification of the losses which the merchants, living under our protection, will unavoidably suffer in their concerns in the country.

After these opinions had been read and much debate passed on the subject at the Board, it was resolved that the members should take time, till the next meeting, to determine on a matter of such importance.

On the 23d arrived the following letter.

W 5.—*Copy of a Letter from Messrs. Amyatt and Hay to the Board.*

Dated June 14, 1763.

IT appears to us from the Nabob's disposition of his forces, both by his strengthening the detachments towards Beerboom and Möorshedabad, and his ordering to be assembled at Patna his troops from the high country and other places to the westward, and from what he has dropt in conversation, that he designs to attack at the same time both Burdwan and our forces at Patna, in hopes of subduing them before they can be succoured. He continues to treat us with the greatest slight, and we almost daily meet with insults from his people.

We have thought it necessary to write you the above, and to forward you a duplicate of the cypher, the receipt of which you have not yet acknowledged, as we are doubtful what the event may be on our delivering the Governor's letter to his Excellency to-morrow, especially as we have received so little protection from him for our people since we have been here, and he seems to have so high an opinion of his own force; which we imagine he is led to by the Armenian, who is his sole Minister,

Minister, and we believe the only person that influences him to a rupture. The last time we were with the Nabob he told us that peace or war depended on the removing our troops from Patna, which if we complied with, he would then talk on business.

Our Gentlemen were again stopped this morning at the same Chokey, and carried prisoners to the Nabob through his army. The Nabob has been pleased to say, he has confined the people, and will give us satisfaction for this.

A Note in cypher.

We delivered the Governor's letter to the Nabob this morning; on reading which, he immediately declared there was war; but told us we might wait until we received the Governor and Council's orders, and send him under our hands and seals the amount of them; when in case they did not order down our troops from Patna, he would send us passports to go to Calcutta, but that he would detain Mr. Hay for security, that his Aumils and people in our hands be delivered up. We conclude that the Nabob's view in this, is principally the safety of Petruce. We therefore recommend the immediate securing of that man, as Mr. Hay's only security, who has agreed to remain with the Nabob.

W 5. a. — The precaution which they recommended with respect to Coja Petruce, was accordingly observed, though there was sufficient reason to think their surmise groundless, since the Nabob's declared pretence for detaining Mr. Hay, was the most natural construction that could be put upon that action; and had he stopped here, the strictest justice could hardly have condemned him for it, after the provocation which we had given, and the example which we had afforded him.

The next letter contained a short glimpse of hope, giving just reason to think, that the Nabob, having tried the effects of a long opposition, and dreaded the consequences of a war, was now resolved to consent to peace upon any conditions: their letter was as follows.

X 5. — *Copy of a Letter from Messrs. Amyatt and Hay to the Board.*

Dated 19 June 1763.

THIS evening Rajah Nobit Roy has been with us, to inform us, that his Excellency consents to release the boats with arms immediately, and will treat without persisting in his preliminary demand, of removing the troops from Patna; and we have accordingly agreed to wait on him tomorrow.

The flattering prospect which this letter had opened, vanished almost in the instant of its first existence, and was succeeded by flying reports of troubles already commenced at Patna, which, though impossible to be traced to any credible authority, and told with improbable and contradictory circumstances, yet left no doubt that some extraordinary and calamitous event had given rise to them. What added to the credit of these rumours was, that we had not heard from Patna for some days, and on the 30th of the month we were informed by a letter from the Gentlemen at Cossimbuzar, that our Dauks had been made prisoners by the Faugedar of Rajemohull, and the letters seized, by which our communication with Patna and Mongheer was entirely stopped.

In the mean time were received, two letters in a very different style from the Nabob, one on the

26th, and the other on the 29th of June; both of them are here inserted, and the reader is left to make the obvious comments on the pacific disposition, which the Nabob plainly shewed to the last, until he was driven to the necessity of standing on his defence, by the actual hostilities begun by the factory at Patna.

A 6. — Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.

Dated 19 June 1763.

I HAVE received your kind letter with pleasure. You write, that “ You have read the list of
“ demands presented by Mr. Amyatt, with my
“ answer to each article, that it is surprizing that
“ not one of them has been consented to. That
“ I repeatedly write for the removal of the troops
“ from Patna; and that you and Mr. Amyatt
“ never wrote to me that arms were not dispatched
“ to that place; but that the forces which are al-
“ ready there want muskets, that I had stopped six
“ boats loaded with muskets, and taken from the
“ Company’s Gomastah at Bahar 2000 maunds
“ of salt-petre; that 4 or 500 muskets, or 2000
“ maunds of salt-petre, were no great matter to
“ either of us, but by such unprofitable actions I
“ rendered entirely useless and ineffectual, all your
“ endeavours and study to preserve peace and union
“ between us. That from all these circumstances
“ you supposed, that I was resolved upon a rup-
“ ture; if so, that I should write it plainly: that
“ I might be assured, that unless I released the
“ boats and arms, there would be an end to all
“ friendship and peace, and to all mutual concerns
“ between us.”

Sir, in my reply to each article of the demands, what have I answered contrary to the treaty, or not conformable to justice, or what business of yours have I put a stop to? Write me an instance, that I may know it. From the professions of you, Gentlemen, and my own confidence in you, I assured myself that the troops at Patna were for my service, and for that reason I sent for them. I now understand that they are kept at Patna for the defence and business of the factory, and for my grievance and detriment. Had I known as much before, I should not have sent for them, nor had I any other reason for desiring their removal from Patna; but that Mr. Ellis is my professed enemy, and for these two years has created disturbances, leaving unattempted no means to ruin my affairs. For this reason, if you think it proper to keep up forces at Patna, and that the boats of arms should be released, it is fit that you appoint Mr. Amyatt, or Mr. M'Gwire, or Mr. Hastings, which soever of these Gentlemen you approve of, to the Chiefship of Patna, and remove Mr. Ellis from that place. By this means good order will be introduced into both our affairs; but if you, Gentlemen, are resolved at all events upon a rupture, write me so plainly.

Whoever wrote you, Gentlemen, that I had seized your salt-petre, wrote an absolute falsehood, and with a wicked design. It is true that 4 or 500 muskets are of no great matter to you. Nevertheless, they would be of use to me in the appearance which they would have with the Zemindars, and the common people of this country. If you will oblige me, by granting me this slight favour, I may at length reap this benefit (be it great or small) in three years, from the influence of the Company, and the kindness of you, Gentlemen. The amount of their price, I will pay: if you will
not

not give them, you are the masters of your own goods. You ought to consider well from what quarter war and discord shew themselves: for instance, the English Council has sent strict orders to all the Gomastahs of their factories, that upon any fault being committed by any of the Officers of the Sircar, they shall, without acquainting me, or my Naibs, or Aumils, chastize them, and carry them away prisoners. And though I had dismissed Mahomed Aly from my service, and sent for him, when he had waited a few days to prepare his accounts, and was upon the point of setting out for this place, your people seized him, and carried him to Calcutta; and besides this, they have imprisoned several others of the Officers of the Sircar. It is needless to write what disgrace they have thrown upon my affairs. Had I refused to punish them upon conviction of their faults, yet, in that case, it would not have been just to quarrel with my Officers. Whatever claims, or seizures, or war, or force were to be made, ought to have fallen upon me. After so opprobrious an act, so opposite to the rules of friendship, what room was there left for mutual confidence?

To your demand, that I should write plainly, whether my designs are for war, I declare to you plainly, that I, upon no account, desire a war with you, Gentlemen, nor do I interrupt either the Company's trade, or your foreign commerce. But you, Gentlemen, setting on foot once or twice every year a new treaty, enter into negotiations, and insist on an answer to your own liking: by this you leave me without remedy: whatever is to be done, delay not: if I have done any thing contrary to the old treaty, acquaint me with it. You have taken Burdwan and the other countries, for defraying the expences of the English army, and in the old treaty you have written, that your army

shall attend me, and now when I desire you to remove the forces from Patna, and suffer them to attend me, you make excuses and denials : this is foreign from justice. With respect to Mr. Ellis, how shall I speak, or how shall I write ? What quarrels he has made with my people from the beginning, and how he has injured my affairs : now he is every day making preparations against Meer Mahomed Mahdy Cawn, and making a shew of his forces before him, and is ready to attack him. In this case, I and my people are without remedy. It is the duty of every man to defend his own honour.

P. S. Sir, Concerning what you write of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn's monthly allowance ; you know that I have not at this time an Aumil in my place, and that the revenues of the Sircar are at a stand ; as soon as the Aumils are gone into their stations, I will without fail discharge it.

A 6 a.—*Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.*

Dated 22 June 1763.

I HAVE already acquainted you fully and repeatedly with the affairs of this place, and you will have understood the whole. At this time, upon the receipt of your letter, in which you insist on the release of the boats laden with muskets ; I have complied with your desire, and released the boats with the muskets : but Messrs. Amyatt and Hay have given me this plain answer, that they received an order of the Council, which is, that the troops at Patna shall never be removed, as you will observe by the letter written to me by those Gentlemen, of which I send you a copy.

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As to the particulars of Mr. Ellis, what shall I write? Daily is he seeking an occasion to quarrel with Meer Mahomed Mahdy Cawn Bahadre, and now by what I can learn, that gentleman is bent upon the design of assaulting the fort of Patna. To this purpose I have just received an arzee from Meer Mahomed Mahdy Cawn Bahadre, with a paper of news of that quarter. I opened them in the presence of Messrs. Amyatt and Hay. A copy of each I send you inclosed in this letter for your perusal, and from them you will have a clear view of all particulars. And in the same manner the English Seapoys are committing all manner of violence and hostilities. A letter upon this subject, which I received from Mashing, the Aumil of that quarter, I have shewn to the said gentleman, and now send you a copy of it likewise for your information.

By your friendship and kindness my affairs have been bro ght to this pass. The meanest person that exists could never have submitted to use so great a forbearance. And that I have forborne so long was owing to this only, that your reputation might not suffer with your matters. I now leave you to your own concerns, since Mr. Ellis has proceeded to such lengths as to prepare ladders and platforms, in order to take the fort of Patna; now you may take whatever measures you think best for the interest of the Company and your own. I repeatedly wrote to you to release me from this business, and appoint another, but you did not ever reply to me on this subject. Since the Chiefs of the factories are stretching out their hands against my honour and reputation, I and my people are in every respect without remedy, nor is it in my power to use any longer forbearance.

P. S. Sir, since the receipt of the former arzee from Meer Mahomed Cawn Bahadre, another arzee

with a paper of news is arrived. The substance of it is, that the English are throwing down the houses of Baukypoor, and expelling the tenants, in order to make intrenchments. When the Zemin-dar of that place went to Mr. Carstairs to represent this affair to him, that gentleman paid no regard to him. I send you inclosed a copy of the ar-zee, and the paper of news.

Copy of a Letter from Meer Mahomed Mahdy Cawn Bahadre, to the Nabob.

I Have continually represented to your Excellency, that the Chief of the factory at Patna is bent upon a rupture, and your Excellency, in answer to my arzees, continually informs me, that a peace will shortly be concluded, and the English troops withdrawn from Patna. I have sent repeated representations of the state of this place, that that gentleman was resolved on a rupture, insomuch that he has even made platforms and high ladders for scaling the walls of the fort. One day he made them ready with this design, and was near the walls, when a storm of wind and rain came on and caused him to defer it. This is our state. But your Excellency neither sends reinforcements, nor gives me any orders to fight. What then am I to do, sitting here inactive? Since the Seapoys of Bengal have gained an ill name for their treachery to the former Nazims, it is not in my power to bring myself to so much forbearance and want of spirit. If that Chief is determined on a quarrel, I will put up with no more insults, but will fight with him.

P. S. On the 5th of the Moon, the Hircarabs of the Sircar delivered me a paper of news, which I send for your Excellency's information, inclosed in my azdasht.

Copy

Copy of the Paper of News.

I have repeatedly informed your Excellency of the disturbances committed by Mr. Ellis. This is the present state. The disturbances created by the said gentleman daily increase, his Seapoys come close to the fort, and give ill language to the people of the fort, and say to them, "What do you sitting in the fort? Why do you not come out into the plain that we may cut your heads off?" In this manner they use insulting expressions. And that gentleman has also made platforms and high ladders for scaling the walls. One day with this design he approached the fort, when a storm of wind and rain came on and caused him to defer it. I daily write to you what passes, but your Excellency takes no measures for redressing these matters, and Meer Mahomed Mahdy Cawn Bahadre will not fight without your orders.

Second Paper of News.

To the west of Moorlidar's garden dwelt many tenants. Mr. M'Leod turned them out, pulled their houses down, and threw them upon the intrenchments, where builders are at work. The Zemindar of the place taking the tenants with him, carried them before Captain Carstairs, and complained, but receiving no answer, was forced to return with the tenants to his own house.

Copy of a Letter from Mashing to the Nabob.

I Have before represented the particulars of the assault made by Diaram, the English Gomastah, with a body of 500 Seapoys, &c. at the last pahr of the night, on the Cutcherry of the Pergunnah of Bahrbund. At this time about 700 men, Europeans

peans and Seapoys, arrived at Cheelmary in the said Pergunnah, have plundered the merchants and tenants, and making their way to the Cutcherry early in the morning, they attacked my peshcar in Ranny Gunge. They killed and wounded about fifteen of my peons, &c. and committed great ravages; though they are now returned to Dacca, yet they will not desist from their hostile intentions. These disturbances repeatedly caused by the English have entirely ruined the Pergunnah. The tenants are fled, the revenues are entirely at a stand, and the lands are waste. Added to these damages the Tuncaw of the Rungamatty Fougedar has suffered, and your Excellency can well judge in what manner the balances are to be recovered, and the new collections made amidst these disorders. Also the past disturbances have made it necessary to entertain a few horse and foot for the protection of my honour, and I have been obliged to borrow money to pay them two months pay. I request that a Perwana may be granted me for a Tuncaw.

B 6. — We were now upon the brink of a war, and no time was to be lost, wherefore, on the 2d of July orders were given for the army to march, and on the 4th arrived the following note in cypher, from Mr. Amyatt, directed to Mr. Ellis, but brought by mistake to Calcutta, instead of another of the same tenor addressed to the Board.

We are made prisoners, as far as seizing our boats and surrounding of us can make us; the boats with arms were stopped a few miles from hence.

Mongheer, June 21, 1763.

The Hirtarah who brought the news, reported, That being stopped and detained a little on this side of Mongheer by the Nabob's chokeys, he learnt that

that Mr. Amyatt was gone to Patna, and that our forces there had attacked and taken the city.

Though we could not depend upon this news, yet there was too sufficient reason to look upon the breach between the Nabob and us as irreparable; nor was the President at a loss what part to act in the scenes which were presented to him.

Hitherto he had regarded the Nabob as the injured party, whose conduct from the beginning of his Government to the opening of our last disputes, and even to the present period, had been irreproachable, except in a very few instances which may be justly placed to the distress and despair to which he was driven. The President considered himself as the instrument of the Nabob's advancement, and therefore, in honour bound to support him, whilst he observed the conditions to which he had engaged himself with the Company, and from his station as President, he was more especially concerned to preserve the security of the Company's interests, and the tranquillity of the country upon the establishment, which he had so principal a share in forming. Therefore, in all the disputes, he had placed himself between the Nabob and the rage of his opponents, 'till the flame grew too violent to be extinguished, and threatened our own possessions. The same principle which had before engaged him in defence of the Nabob, now obliged him to join with his aggressors in repelling the evils to which the Company and the nation were exposed. An object which ought to supercede every other consideration.

These motives had induced him to form the resolution which he had before publicly declared in a minute already noticed of the 20th of June, to remain in the chair, and assist in all the operations of the war, 'till it should be brought to a final issue; leaving it to the other members of the Council to
form

form a new plan of Government, in which he was determined to have no concern. This resolution he now repeated to the Board in the following minute, believing, from the Hircarah's report, that Mr. Amyatt, who was the next in succession to the chair, was now at Patna.

C 6.—Copy of the Governor's Minute in Consultation of the 4th of July 1763.

I think it certain, from the stoppage of our letters, the intelligence of the Hircara, and other reports, that hostilities have begun at Patna, and that the breach with the Nabob is irreparable; that the army under the command of Major Adams should therefore march on towards Mongheer with all expedition, to secure the Company's possessions, and bring the war to a speedy issue, although I am quite of opinion, as I always have been, that it would be begun, continued, and ended by our force at Patna. For the rest, as it is my resolution, for the reasons mentioned in my minute of the 20th of June, to quit the Government as soon as the war is so far determined, as that the Company's settlements and possessions run no risk, and which, I doubt not, will be the case before the month of September, I shall be glad that Mr. Amyatt, who we have reasons to hope is safe at Patna, was directed to return to Calcutta by that time, to receive from me the charge of the Government, with the papers and instructions thereunto belonging.

The minutes entered in consultation of the 26th of June, regarding the plan for settling the Government, in case of the removal of Cossim Aly Cawn from the Subaship, were now read again at the Board, in order to come to some conclusion upon the point; and the opinions of Major Carnac and Mr. Batson, which had not been taken with the rest, were now delivered in the following terms.

Major

Major Carnac's Opinion.

Though Major Carnac intirely disapproves of the revolution in favour of Cossim Aly Cawn, and did not deem the authority by which it was effected as sufficient, from a conviction if the whole Council had been consulted, the majority would have been against it; yet from the moment we had the advice of our employers having acquiesced therein, it became our common duty to support to the utmost the new Nazim, so long as our rights and privileges were not infringed by him, and the Major can safely aver, no person at the Board is more truely concerned than himself, at the measures we are under the necessity of taking. The Nabob Cossim Aly Cawn has for some time past shewn such an indisposition towards us, as would render it the height of folly to place any confidence in him; and however inclined the Board have shewn themselves by their long forbearance, and sending deputies to the establishment of a mutual friendship, he has by his late acts absolutely put it out of our power consistently with honour, to come to an accommodation with him. We shall therefore be justified to the Company and the world, in exerting our endeavours for the restoration of Meer Jaffier, an attonement which Major Carnac looks upon as due to him, for the injustice which he thinks was done him in deposing him. And as he is of opinion he should be proclaimed at Calcutta, and taken up with Major Adams to Moorshedabad, and there placed upon the Musnud, that a manifesto should be published, setting forth the reasons for the change of Government; and there is no doubt but as Meer Jaffier, from the consideration in which he has for many years been held, must have a number of friends, several of the most considerable persons in the country will flock to his standard.

Major

D 6.—Major Carnac begs leave to submit to the Board the terms which in his opinion should be made the ground-work of a treaty to be concluded between us and Meer Jaffier.

The confirmation of the cession of the three provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, with this alteration, that they be now made over to us in property, instead of their revenues only being assigned to us, as is the case at present.

An universal freedom of trade to be allowed us, and the other privileges which the deputies were commissioned to demand of Cossim Aly Cawn.

The defraying the expences of the war, and a full indemnification to be made to the private sufferers, as well as to the public, for all losses sustained. To enable Meer Jaffier to do so immediately, the treasure of Cossim Aly Cawn, if laid hold of, to be put into his hands; but in case of failure herein, the revenues of the Nuddea province to be mortgaged to us, till every body is reimbursed. The farm of the Purnea Petre to be given to the Company.

The ill consequence of suffering an overgrowth of power in a Nabob, being but too apparent, he should in future be so limited in the number of his forces, as to be obliged to have his main dependence upon those of the English. The principal of our troops should therefore be stationed at Burrumpoor (where there is a piece of ground already marked out, and given to us) where proper cantonments may be erected, wherever he has occasion for their services, and this disposition will preserve our military, it being a very healthy spot, whereas they have fatally experienced (the two last seasons particularly) the unhealthiness of Calcutta.

D 6. a.—*Mr. Batson's Opinion.*

The Nabob Cossim Aly Cawn has plainly manifested, by his general conduct, since he has been raised

raised to the Subadary, and more particularly by the several acts of hostility, to which he has lately proceeded, that he has the most inveterate enmity against us, and that his design is to extirpate us entirely out of his country, if ever it should be in his power ; the delays already procured by the gentlemen, who have so strenuously supported his cause, have subjected our affairs to great dangers and inconveniences, and brought on us some disgraces.

I am of opinion therefore, that to keep terms with Meer Cossim any longer, or attempt any accommodation with him, is highly detrimental to the interests of the Company and Nation ; and I propose that we reinstate the old Nabob in his government, of which he has been unjustly deprived ; hereby I think we shall attain the desirable end of establishing the Company's affairs on a solid foundation, and clear ourselves of the imputation of a breach of faith, which though really due to a faction among us, has through this country been cast on the nation in general.

The majority of opinions agreeing in the appointment of another person to the Subaship, this point came the next under consideration, and the choice of the Board fell of course upon Jaffier Aly Cawn, Mr. Hastings and the President remaining neuter upon the occasion ; and it was accordingly resolved that he should be restored to the Nizamut. The next day we received two letters from Mr. Amyatt ; the first dated from Seapunge, the 25th of June, advising us, that from all the Nabob's actions he and Mr. Hay both judged that he intended war, and that he would attack our troops at Patna ; that four days before an Armenian Commander, with a strong reinforcement of horse, foot, and cannon, went to Patna, and that the Armenians solely manage him, and urged the disputes. The last dated from

from Lootee, the 30th of June, and advised us, that the Nabob had given him a passport, and put a man with him to conduct him and his party safe to Calcutta. That night we received a letter from Cossim Buzar, which gave us the first melancholy news of the treacherous attack of Mr. Amyatt and his party, whilst they were passing the city of Moorshedabad, by which Mr. Amyatt and some other gentlemen were slain, and the rest made prisoners. This shocking intelligence being the next day confirmed by some of the gentlemen's servants, and one or two soldiers of the party who had escaped the fate of the rest, determined the Board immediately to declare war against Cossim Aly Cawn; and the Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn having consented to take upon him the Government, the following declaration of war against Cossim Aly Cawn, and of the restoration of Jaffier Aly Cawn was drawn up, signed by the members of the Council, and publickly read through the town, copies thereof being dispersed amongst the Zemindars and other principal people of the country.

E 6.——Copy of the Proclamation of the Nabob Meer Jaffier.

The Nabob Meer Mahomed Cossim Aly Cawn, having entered upon and committed acts of open hostility against the English nation, and the interest of the English United East India Company, we on their behalf, are reduced to the necessity of declaring war against him; and having come to a resolution of placing the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Bahadre again in the Government; we now proclaim and acknowledge him as Subadar of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá: and further, as the said Cossim Aly Cawn has likewise exercised acts of violence and oppressions over many

of the principal merchants and inhabitants of the country, to their entire ruin ; we do hereby require all manner of persons under our jurisdiction, and also invite all other Officers, and inhabitants of the country, to repair to the standard of the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Bahadre, to assist him in defeating the designs of the said Cossim Aly Cawn, and firmly establishing himself in the Subadarree.

Given in Council at Fort William the 7th day of July 1763, under our hands and the seal of the said United East India Company.

Whilst the Board were sitting, the following letter arrived from Meer Cossim, and confirmed what we had for some days apprehended, the news of the defeat of our detachment at Patna.

The city was surprized and taken without resistance, by our troops in the night of the 24th of June; and by the disorderly behaviour of the troops engaged in the plunder of the place, was retaken by a handful of the Nabob's people the next morning, after which loss the scattered remains of the army retired across the river, and were then all destroyed or taken prisoners.

E 6. a.—*Copy of the Nabob Cossim Aly Cawn's Letter to the Governor.*

Dated the 28th June 1763.

IN my heart I believe Mr. Ellis to be my inveterate enemy, but from his actions I now find he was inwardly my friend, as appears by this step, which he has added to the others. Like a night robber, he assaulted the Kella of Patna, robbed and plundered the Bazar, and all the merchants

ants and inhabitants of the city, ravaging, slaying from the morning till the third pahr (afternoon). When I requested of you 2 or 300 muskets laden on boats, you would not consent to it; this unhappy man, in consequence of his inward friendship, favoured me in this fray and slaughter with all the muskets and cannon of his army, and is himself relieved and eased from his burden. Since it never was my desire to injure the affairs of the Company, whatever loss may have been occasioned by this unhappy man to myself in this tumult, I pass over; but you, Gentlemen, must answer for any injury which the Company's affairs have suffered; and since you have unjustly and cruelly ravaged the city and destroyed the people, and plundered effects to the value of lacks of rupees, it becomes the justice of the Company to make reparation to the poor, as formerly was done for Calcutta. You, Gentlemen, were wonderful friends, having made a treaty to which you pledged the name of Jesus Christ. You took from me a country to pay the expences of your army, with the condition that your troops should always attend me, and promote my affairs. In effect you keep up a force for my destruction, since from their hand such events have proceeded. I am entirely of opinion that the Company favour me, in causing to be delivered to me the rents for three years of my country; besides this, for the violences and oppressions exercised by the English Gomastahs for several years past in the territories of the Nizamut, and the large sums extorted, and the losses occasioned by them, it is proper and just that the Company make restitution at this time. This is all the trouble you need to take. In the same manner as you took Burdwan and the other lands, you must favour me in resigning them.

This

This was followed by a note from the gentlemen at Cossimbuzar, dated the night of the 4th of July, informing us, that the factory was surrounded by a numerous force, and that they expected an attack the next morning. The Nabob's letter putting it out of all doubt that our troops at Patna, which consisted of a * great part of our force, were entirely defeated, and the war becoming thereby more serious than had been expected; that no appearance of disunion amongst the Council might hurt the public service, the President now resolved to set his name to the declaration of war, and the treaties with Meer Jaffier, in which he had before declared his intention to have no share. This he accordingly did, having first explained the motives for this change in his conduct, in the following minute, delivered in the consultation of the 8th of July.

F 6.—The President's Minute.

The President, sensible that it will be more for the public service that we should appear unanimous in every measure now entered upon, for prosecuting the war against Cossim Aly Cawn with the utmost vigour, and supporting the alliance with Jaffier Aly Cawn, to re-establish him in his government, and particularly that it will be a satisfaction to the Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn, consents to sign the proclamation, and all other public deeds which shall be made in consequence. Now recording once for all, that he does not mean hereby to prejudice his

By a return from the commanding Officer dated the 30th April, the force under his command consisted of 220 European Infantry, 57 of the Artillery, and 2709 Seapoys, of which very few were sick. The number of Officers not included in the foregoing was 27. The only deduction that we know of from this force was about 200 Seapoys, which Mr. Ellis advised us had deserted the beginning of June.

former declarations and opinions entered on the consultations.

F 6. a. — *Mr. Hastings's Minute.*

It is long since that I foreboded that our disputes with the Nabob would terminate in an open rupture; but as from the ill opinion which I had of his strength, I expected that our contention with him would be of very short duration, nor otherwise affect the interest of the Company, than in the future ill consequences of a broken and disordered state; and as I have not the same tie upon me with the President, in respect to any military charge, it was my resolution, as soon as a war should be declared, to resign the Company's service; being unwilling on the one hand to join in giving authority to past measures, of which I disapproved, and to a new establishment, which I judged detrimental to the honour and interest of the Company; and apprehensive on the other, that my continuance at the Board might serve only to prejudice, rather than advance the good of the service, in keeping alive by my presence, the disputes which have so long disturbed our Councils, and retarded the public business, by continual dissents and protests. But since our late melancholy advices give us reason to apprehend a dangerous and troublesome war, and from the unparalleled acts of barbarity and treachery, with which it has opened on the part of the Nabob, it becomes the duty of every British subject to unite in the support of the common cause; it is my intention to join my endeavours for the good of the service, not only as long as the war shall last, but as long as the troubles consequent from it may endanger either the Company's affairs or the safety of this Colony; on the same principle, and to remove every appearance of dissension amongst ourselves, I will freely set my hand

hand to the declaration published by the Board, though I still abide by the sentiments which I have all along expressed of the measures taken in the course of all our disputes with the Nabob, hereby confirming all that I have declared in my former protests and minutes, which stand on record in our consultations.

G 6.—*Extract of Consultation of the 6th July 1763, (present, Messrs. Vansittart, Adams, Carnac, Billers, Cartier, Hastings, Marriott, and Watts.)*

The committee appointed the 4th instant, send in a letter accompanying the proceedings of two committees held by them, and containing the articles which they think it necessary the Nabob Meer Jaffier should agree to before he is restored to the Government.

The proceedings of their committee being read, and after some amendments approved of,

Ordered they be here entered as they now stand.

Calcutta, 4th July 1763.

At a committee, present Messrs Batson, Billers, and Cartier.

This committee being met, agreeable to the appointment of Council,

Read the treaty entered into with Serajah Dowla.

Read do. do. with Meer Mahomed Jaffier Aly Cawn.

Read do. do. with Cossim Aly Cawn.

Read the Board's instructions to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay.

The committee having duly considered the substance of these several papers, are unanimously of opinion, that the following articles, with any other which may hereafter occur, or be deemed necessary,

ought to be digested into the form of a treaty, and acceded to by Meer Mahomed Jaffier Aly Cawn, before he is restored to the Government.

That we do engage to reinstate the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Aly Cawn Bahadre, in the Subadary of the province of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia, on his agreeing to the following conditions.

1st, To confirm to the Company the cession of the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, made by Meer Cossim, either by Jagheery Sunnuds, or such deeds as may secure the property of them in the strongest manner to the Company for ever.

2d, To ratify and confirm to the English the privileges granted by their Phirmaund and several Husbulhookums of carrying on their trade, by means of their own dustuck, free from all duties, taxes, and impositions, in all parts of the country, excepting the article of salt, on which according to a resolution already taken, we agree to pay a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the Rewana or Houghly market price.

3dly, That he do grant to the Company the exclusive right of purchasing the salt-petre of the province of Purnea; that he do also grant to them for the space of five years, the sole privilege of making Chunam in the province of Sillet. Half whereof shall be delivered to the Fougedar there, for the Nabob's use, at the rate which the prime cost and charges may amount to.

4thly, That as the troops of the English army shall always be ready to be employed in the service of the Nabob, for the support of his Government, and the defence of his country; the Nabob on his part shall agree, that he will maintain in his pay no greater number of troops than six thousand horse, and twelve thousand foot, for the protection of his frontiers, and collecting of his revenues.

5thly,

5thly, That wherever he shall think proper to fix his Court, he shall agree to a body of our forces being always cantoned near his person, for the security thereof and protection of his Government; and that a Company's servant shall reside at his Court to transact any affairs between the Company and the Government.

6thly, That the late Perwanas issued out by Cossim Aly Cawn, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years, shall be reversed and called in, as they are a detriment to the revenues of the Government, and highly destructive of the immunities enjoyed by the Company from their Firmaund.

7thly, That the Nabob shall engage to cause the Rupees coined in Calcutta, to pass in every respect throughout his Government, without any deduction, equally the same with the Rupees struck in his own mints.

8thly, That he shall defray all the expences and loss accruing to the Company from the war, and stoppage of their investment, and reimburse to all private persons the amount of the authenticated losses, which they may sustain in their trade in the country.

9thly, That for the former purpose he shall give the sum of thirty lacks of Rupees, for the latter ten lacks of rupees.

10thly, That the most authentic accounts of these losses shall be laid before a committee of the Board, and that all sums of money which may exceed the losses sustained by the Company and private persons, shall be faithfully restored to the Nabob.

11thly, That whatever treasure or effects may be seized at Mongheer or elsewhere, belonging to Cossim Aly Cawn, the Nabob shall be put in possession of, to enable him to make good the stipulations of the ninth article.

12thly, That if we should not be so fortunate as to seize Cossim Aly Cawn's treasure and effects, the Nabob shall assign over the revenues of certain lands, for making good the sums above stipulated.

13thly, That the treaty entered into between the Nabob and the Dutch in the year 1760, to which we by the desire of both parties signed as guarantees, shall after his restoration to the Government be renewed; and with regard to the French he shall engage that, when they come to re-establish themselves in Bengal, they shall not be permitted to build forts, or keep up any forces, or hold any territories whatever, exclusive of their trading factories.

The foregoing articles, the committee are of opinion, may be included in a public treaty to be ratified between us and the Nabob, Meer Mahomed Jaffier Aly Cawn Bahadre; and would further recommend, that a method be settled with him for determining such disputes in trade, as may arise between the English Agents and Gomastahs in the different parts of the country, and the affairs of the Government.

Agreed, that Major Adams, Major Carnac, and Messrs. Batson and Cartier, be appointed a deputation to wait on the Nabob Meer Jaffier, to acquaint him with our resolution in his favour, and the substance of these articles, and report his answer to the Board; and if he should accept of the Government on the terms therein contained, to recommend to him to use his interest in gaining over such of the country people as may be attached to his cause, and particularly to appoint proper Officers for collecting the revenues of the provinces which lie at hand, for us to take immediate possession of.

The President's Minute.

The President on this occasion minutes, That having already declared he should not be a party to this or any other treaty which might be made with the country powers; he remained neuter to the question with respect to the propriety of the articles proposed. Yet, as his opinion has been asked upon them, he declares that he can see no objections to any of the articles, excepting the second, which, he has already given his opinion, extends the privilege of our private trade, beyond the true intent and meaning of our Firmaund, beyond what is consistent with the English reputation in the country, and with the good understanding with the Nabob, and this without any benefit to the Company: further, that he does not at present recollect any thing to be added to the articles which is material to the Company's service.

Mr. Hastings's opinion being likewise required on the articles, he delivered it in writing, as follows.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

I declare my dissent from the treaty proposed to Meer Jaffier; and think, that if his restoration to his just rights be the point aimed at in it, there is a manifest injustice and inconsistency in exacting his compliance with new terms, not mentioned in the original agreement with him. Notwithstanding, as my opinion upon the several articles now before the Board is required, I shall freely give it, but as a neutral member only, for the good of the Company, whose interests may be essentially affected by them.

I agree materially with the first article, but think that the lands should be fully made over to the Company by treaty, and not by Jagheery Sunnuds;

the first conveying them a certain property, and the latter leaving them still dependent.

I disapprove of the 2d article, for the reasons given by the President.

I think the monopoly of the Purnea Petre an acquisition very trifling for the Company, and likely to distress the Nabob greatly, by depriving him entirely of one of the principal necessities of life.

To make the Nabob an useful ally, and not a mere instrument in the hands of the Company for the exercise of their own power; it is my opinion, that a larger body of horse might be maintained by him, than the number to which it is proposed to limit him, though that may serve him when he is at peace, and in no apprehension from an enemy; but that the foot (an useless expensive rabble) be entirely excluded from his army, and only a few kept up, to be employed in the collection of the revenues, where only they can be of service: for the real purpose of war, he can need no other infantry than ours, and his own army consisting only of horse, and unincumbered by the disorderly crowd of Peons, and Burcundassies, with their increased baggages and train following them, will be more under the command of their leaders, and may act with great advantage in conjunction with our forces.

Though I opposed the demand made on the present Nabob, to reverse the decree passed by him for a free trade, as an encroachment on his rights, and a breach of our own treaty; yet, I think it may with propriety be made an article in the new treaty, though the strict intention of such an order must of necessity be left to the Nabob's own pleasure.

I judge the Nabob's order insufficient to enforce the currency of the Calcutta Siccas, but it may
with

with propriety be insisted on, as it may serve as a just pretence for regulating the coin of the country *in general* (whenever the Board may have leisure, in conjunction with the Nabob, to resume the subject) and upon this, my opinion in a few words is, that *such* will be the only *effectual regulation* to answer equally the purposes of commerce, and the revenues of the Bengal standard, and abolish the pernicious custom of lowering the value of Rupees every year.

The other articles appear to me very proper, nor do any other occur to me that ought to be added to them.

H 6. — *At a Consultation the Evening of the 6th July 1763 (present, Messrs. Vansittart, Adams, Carnac, Billers, Hastings, Marriott, and Watts.)*

The Gentlemen who waited as deputies on the Nabob, report to the Board, that they made known to him the resolution of the Council in his favour, and endeavoured to give him a general knowledge of the articles, which is thought requisite he should agree to; as also of the other circumstances which were recommended by the Board.

To the whole he in general terms replied, that he assented to resume the Government, but that before he would determine on particulars, or enter upon business, he desired to have delivered to him a copy of the articles in the Persian language, and that we would comply with the two following requests, first, To secure the person of Coja Petruce, and have him taken up with the army, as he may be made the means of carrying on a correspondence with his brother. 2dly, To permit him to take into his service Nuncoomar, as his Muttasuddy to assist him in commencing and carrying on his business.

It being necessary therefore, that the Board should determine immediately on these requests, for the benefit of forwarding the business with the Nabob :

Their opinions with regard to Nuncoomar were first collected, as follows.

The President's Opinion.

With respect to the appointment of Nuncoomar, for the Nabob's Muttasuddy ; the President desires his opinion may be minuted, that from the knowledge he has had of Nuncoomar since he came to Bengal, he thinks him a dangerous man, and not fit to be trusted ; but that he does not think that it is in his power, to dissent from the Nabob's taking whom he pleases, or indeed that it is necessary, as he will not be a party in the treaty.

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

Mr. Watts has no objection to the Nabob's appointing Nuncoomar to be his Muttasuddy.

Mr. Marriott's Opinion.

Mr. Marriott is of opinion with the President, that Nuncoomar is not a fit man to be trusted ; but that if the Nabob insists on it, he must be allowed to appoint him. That he looks upon Roydoolub, in many respects, as a more proper person, if, through the persuasion of the Gentlemen in the deputation, the Nabob could be prevailed on to appoint him.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

Mr. Hastings is of the same opinion with the President, in regard to Nuncoomar's character ;
but

but leaves it to the other Gentlemen, to take what measure they please for the security of the future establishment.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

Mr. Cartier is of Mr. Watts's opinion.

Mr. Billers's Opinion.

Mr. Billers is of Mr. Marriott's opinion.

Major Carnac's Opinion.

Major Carnac is of opinion, that Roydoolub would be a more proper person, as having more influence in the country, and therefore thinks the Gentlemen in the deputation should mention him to the Nabob; but as he apprehends he (the Nabob) will still insist on appointing Nuncoomar, that he cannot be refused him.

Major Adams's Opinion.

Major Adams has no knowledge of the intrigues of Nuncoomar, but from his general character given him by Gentlemen who know him better, he thinks if the Nabob would dispense with him, it would be more proper; yet, if the necessity of the times may make his service requisite to the Nabob, and he insists on appointing him, he thinks that we cannot refuse.

Agreed, that Nuncoomar be in such case released from his confinement.

Next in respect to the Nabob's request regarding Petruce.

The President's Opinion.

The President is of opinion it may be complied with so far as to send him up with the army; but
that

that he should be under no restraint, because he thinks the appearance of Petruce's being employed by us, would be a means of sowing a jealousy between the Nabob and Petruce's brother; and on the contrary, apprehends that confinement or any other severity exercised towards Petruce, from being reported to the Nabob with exaggerations, as it is always the case, might be the cause of worse treatment to our Gentlemen who are in the Nabob's hands. He thinks further, that Petruce before he goes, should take the oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and an oath of fidelity to the Company, in order to subject him more regularly to our laws, in case of his failing in his duty. That we shall have in our hands all the security which it is in a man's power to give: namely, wife and family, houses and effects to a great amount, if he should resolve to forfeit all these, and perjure himself by leaving the army, and going over to the Nabob;

The President, lastly, thinks that it is not in his power to do any prejudice; and therefore by this method of treating him, some good may come, but no harm can.

Agreed to by the five junior members.

Messrs. Watts, Marriott, Hastings, Cartier, and Billers, are of the same opinion.

Major Carnac's Opinion.

Major Carnac is very indifferent whether Petruce go with the army or remain in Calcutta, but thinks, in either case, as he is so near a relation as that of a brother to the person who has the chief direction of the Nabob's affairs, and therefore justly to be suspected of being a well-wisher to him, his person ought to be secured, to prevent his giving any intelligence of our operations; and moreover,

the Major believes his detention may be a means of engaging Coja Gregory to use his influence with his master, for the preservation of our Gentlemen now in his power, for fear we should retaliate upon his brother. He does not think any security can be given by Petruce, sufficient to justify us in giving him his liberty; as to his family, though left with us, he is well convinced we will not hurt them, and with regard to whatever effects he may have at Calcutta, the Nabob can more than compensate him for the loss of them.

Major Adams's Opinion.

Major Adams thinks Petruce should go with the army, but that he should be put under proper restraint.

The Resolution of the Board.

It is therefore resolved, that Coja Petruce should be sent with the army, and that he shall be under no immediate restraint; but, it being notwithstanding thought proper,

Agreed, that a clause be inserted in Major Adams's instructions, directing him to keep such an eye over his actions, and make such use of him as he shall judge necessary for the good of the service.

The articles of the treaty having been sent to the Nabob, were returned with the following alterations, which were agreed to by the Board, for the reasons annexed.

I 6. — *Extract of Consultation of the 9th of July 1763, (present, Messrs. Vansittart, Carnac, Billers, Cartier, Hastings, Marriott, and Watts.)*

The articles of the treaty to be entered into with the Nabob, were laid before the Board, with the following alterations made by him,

In article the 2d, he objects to the words, “ That the three Provinces shall be invested in the Company for ever.” Alledging, that in fact it was not material to the Company, as any future Nabob, who was inclined and able to dispute the Company’s possessions, might insist it was a cession which he had no right to make, and that the same might be objected to his prejudice by the King, if he comes to be established at Delly, and therefore desires the article may run as formerly for defraying the English army.

In article the 4th, he desires he may have half the profit of the Purnea salt-petre, for the use of his own Sicar.

In article the 6th, he increases the number of his forces to 12,000 horse, and 12,000 foot, on account of the addition of territory, by the reduction of the Bougepoor and Betta countries; and adds, that in case of troubles, he may take more into his service, with the consent of the Governor and Council.

In article the 7th, he refused to stipulate, that a body of English troops should always attend him, alledging, that it implied a suspicion of his friendship and good intentions towards us, would be extremely prejudicial to his as well as our business, and therefore insisted that it should stand, that such a number of troops as he at any time should desire, should be sent to attend him.

The same, with his reasons assigned, were maturely considered and debated on.

Resolutions of the Board.

The Board are unanimously of opinion, That they should be agreed to, because they think that the three first alterations which the Nabob has made, for the reasons given, are very just; and the other being an alteration which he positively refused to reverse, it is thought better not to insist upon, for fear of giving him distrust, especially as the present situation of affairs, which renders the Nabob's presence at the city, as soon as possible, absolutely necessary, will not admit of time's being wasted in discussing them further.

K 6. — On the 11th the treaty was concluded and interchanged with the Nabob, Jaffier Aly Cawn, who at the same time presented a paper of demands to be engaged to on the part of the Company, and it was subscribed to accordingly. The following are copies of both.

Articles of a Treaty and Agreement concluded between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the Part of the English East India Company, and the Nabob Shuja-ul-moolk Heshâm-ul-dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Aly Cawn Bahadre Mohabut Jung.

On the Part of the Company.

We engage to reinstate the Nabob, Shuja-ul-moolk Heshâm-ul-dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Aly Cawn Bahadre Mohabut Jung in the Subadarrey of the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá, by the deposal of Meer Mahomed Cossim Aly Cawn, and the effects, treasure, and jewels, &c. which shall fall into our hands, shall be delivered up to the Nabob aforesaid.

On the Part of the Nabob.

1st, The treaty which I formerly concluded with the Company, upon my accession to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the Company, the Governor and Council as my own, granting perwanahs for the currency of the Company's trade; the same treaty I now confirm and ratify.

2dly, I do grant and confirm to the Company, for defraying the expences of their troops, the Chuchlehs of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, which were before ceded for the same purpose.

3dly, I do ratify and confirm to the English the privileges granted them by their Firmaund, and several Husbullhookums, of carrying on their trade, by means of their own dustucks, free from all duties, taxes, and impositions in all parts of the country, excepting the article of salt, on which a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is to be levied on the Rewana or Houghly market-price.

4thly, I give to the Company half the salt-petre which is produced in the country of Purnea, which their Gomastahs shall send to Calcutta; the other half shall be collected by my Phousdar, for the use of my Officers; and I will suffer no other persons to make purchases of this article in that country.

5thly, In the Chuckleh of Silet, for the space of five years, commencing with the Bengal year 1170, my Phousdar and the Company's Gomastah shall jointly prepare chunam, of which each shall defray half the expences; and half the chunam so made shall be given to the Company, and the other half shall be for my use.

6thly, I will maintain twelve thousand horse, and twelve thousand foot in the three Provinces; if there should be occasion for more, the number shall be encreased by the consent of the Governor
and

and Council, proportionably to the emergency; besides these, the forces of the English Company shall always attend me when they are wanted.

7thly, Wherever I shall fix my Court, either at Moorshedabad or elsewhere, I will advise the Governor and Council; and whatever number of English forces I may have occasion for in the management of my affairs, I will demand them, and they shall be allowed me. And an English gentleman shall reside with me, to transact all affairs between me and the Company, and a person shall also reside on my part at Calcutta, to negotiate with the Governor and Council.

8thly, The late Perwanahs issued by Cossim Aly Cawn, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years, shall be reversed, and called in, and the duties collected as before.

9thly, I will cause the Rupees coined in Calcutta to pass respect equal to the Siccas of Moorshedabad, without any deduction of batta; and whoever shall demand batta shall be punished.

10thly, I will give thirty lack of Rupees to defray all the expences and loss accruing to the Company from the war and stoppage of their investment. And I will reimburse to all private persons the amount of such losses, (proved before the Governor and Council) as they may sustain in their trade in the country. If I shall not be able to discharge this in ready money, I will give assignments of land for the amount.

11thly, I will confirm and renew the treaty which I formerly made with the Dutch.

12thly, If the French come into the country, I will not allow them to erect any fortifications, maintain forces, or hold lands, Zemindarries, &c. but they shall pay tribute, and carry on their trade as in former times.

13thly, Some regulations shall be hereafter settled between us, for deciding all disputes which may arise between the English Agents and Gomastahs, in the different parts of the country, and my Officers.

In testimony whereof, we the said Governor and Council have set our hands, and affixed the seal of the Company to one part hereof; and the Nabob aforementioned hath set his hand and seal to another part hereof, which was mutually done, and interchanged at Fort William the 10th day of July 1763.

L 6. — *Demands made on the Part of the Nabob, Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, to the Governor and Council at the time of signing the Treaty.*

1st, I formerly acquainted the Company with the particulars of my own affairs, and received from them repeated letters of encouragement and kindness, with presents; I now make this request, that you will write in a proper manner to the Company, and also to the King of England, the particulars of our friendship and union, and procure for me writings of encouragement, that my mind may be assured from that quarter, that no breach may ever happen between me and the English; and that every Governor, Councillor, and Chiefs of the English that are here, or may hereafter come, may be well disposed and attached to me.

2dly, Since all English gentlemen, assured of my friendly disposition to the Company, confirm me in the Nizamut, I request, that to whatever I may at any time write, they will give their credit and assent, nor regard the stories of designing men to my prejudice; that all my affairs may go on with success, and no occasion may arise for jealousy or ill will between us.

3dly,

3dly, Let no protection be given by any of the English gentlemen, to any of my dependents, who may fly for shelter to Calcutta, or other of your districts; but let them be delivered up to me on demand. I shall strictly enjoin all my Phoufdaars and Aumils, on all accounts, to afford assistance and countenance to such of the Gomastahs of the Company as attend to the lawful trade of their factories; and if any of the said Gomastahs shall act otherwise, let them be checked in such a manner as may be an example to others.

4thly, From the neighbourhood of Calcutta to Houghly, and many of their Pergunnahs, bordering upon each other, it happens that on complaint's being made, people go against the Taalukdaars, Riots, and Tenants of my towns, to the prejudice of the business of the Sircar. Wherefore, let strict orders be given, that no peons be sent from Calcutta on the complaint of any one upon my Taaluckdaars or Tenants; but on such occasions, let application be made to me, or the Naib of the Phoufdarree of Houghly, that the country may be subject to no loss or devastations, and if any of the merchants, traders, which belonged to the Buckshbunder, and Azimgunge, and have settled in Calcutta, should be desirous of returning to Houghly, and carry on their business as formerly, let no one molest them. Chandenagore and the French factory was presented to me by Colonel Clive, and given by me in charge to Ameer Beg Cawn; for this reason, let strict orders be given, that no English gentlemen exercise any authority therein, but that it remain as formerly, under the jurisdiction of my people.

5thly, Whenever I may demand any forces from the Governor and Council for my assistance, let them be immediately sent to me, and no demand made on me for their expences.

The demands of the Nabob, Shuja-ul-moolk Hefam-ul-Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Aly Cawn Bahadre Mohabut Jung, written in five articles, we the President and Council of the English Company do agree, and set our hands to, in Fort William the 10th of July 1763.

M 6.— “ By the superior courage and discipline of our troops, and the admirable conduct and activity of Major Adams, their commander, the war was brought to a conclusion, by the expulsion of Meer Cossim beyond the Carrumnassa in little more than five months from its commencement; with little loss besides that of the unhappy prisoners, who fell into Meer Cossim’s hands at the beginning of the troubles, and were inhumanly massacred by his orders on the 5th of October.

“ The first intimation of such a design was received in a letter from Meer Cossim to Major Adams, a few days after the attack of the intrenchments at Oodwa Nulla. The following is an exact translation of it.”

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob Cossim Aly Cawn to Major Adams.

Dated the 9th of Sept. 1763.

THAT for these three months you have been laying waste the King’s country with your forces; what authority have you? If you are in possession of any real Sunnud for my dismissal, you ought to send me either the original or a copy of it, that having sent it, and shewn it to my army, I may quit the country, and repair to the presence of his Majesty. Although I have in no respect intended any breach of public faith, yet Mr. Ellis, regarding

regarding not treaties or engagements, in violation of public faith, proceeded against me with treachery, and night assaults; all my people then believed that no peace or terms now remained with the English, and that wherever they could be found, it was their duty to kill them. With this opinion it was, that the Aumils of Moorshedabad killed Mr. Amyatt, but it was by no means agreeable to me that that gentleman should be killed. On this account I write; if you are resolved on your own authority to proceed in this business, know of a certainty, that I will cut off the heads of Mr. Ellis and the rest of your Chiefs, and send them to you. Exult not upon the success which you have gained merely by treachery and night assaults in two or three places, over a few Jemaldars sent by me. By the will of God, you shall see in what manner this shall be revenged and retaliated.

N 6. — *Copy of a Letter from the President to Cossim Aly Cawn.*

Dated the 17th of Sept. 1763.

I HAVE received from Major Adams the copy of your letter, dated the last of Suffer.

Mr Amyatt and Mr. Hay were sent to you as Ambassadors, a title sacred among all nations; yet, in violation of that title, you caused Mr. Amyatt to be attacked and killed on his return, after having given him your passports, and Mr. Hay you unjustly kept as a prisoner with you. You surrounded and attacked our factory at Cossimbuzar, and carried away our gentlemen from thence prisoners, in a most disgraceful manner, to Mongheer, although they had no concern in the war, nor resisted your people. In like manner, in all other parts you attacked the English Agents, who were carrying

carrying on their trade quietly ; some you killed, and some were carried away prisoners, and their effects were every where plundered. After these proceedings, do you ask for what reason Major Adams was sent with an army ? You know the laws of God and man ; as you declared you would turn the English out of the country, and had proceeded as far as you could towards it, it became necessary for us to take measures for our own defence, and for the care of our own reputation. Thanks be to God that success has attended our army thus far, and they will continue their march in the same manner as far as the Caramnassa, that the country may be freed from disturbances, and the inhabitants relieved from the horrors of war ; and although we are shocked, as must all people of all religions, and all nations, at the revenge which you threaten to take upon the lives of our Chiefs, who have been unfortunately and unjustly taken prisoners by you ; yet the honour of our nation and the interests of the Company will not be sacrificed to this consideration, nor the operations of our army be stopped. To put prisoners of war to death is an act which will appear shocking and unlawful, not only to Christians and Mussulmen, but to the most barbarous Pagans. Such sentiments are no where to be met with but among the beasts of the forest. After the battle of Oudah Nullah, above a thousand of your Officers and men were prisoners in the hands of Major Adams, who released them without the least hurt or injury. Reflect on this, and on your own character, both in this world and in the next ; and remember also, that if you had followed my advice this war would not have happened.

In the mean time, Major Adams, on his march, judging the most effectual method would be to act
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 upon

upon the Nabob's fears, had already returned an answer to his letter, in the following terms.

N 6. a — *Copy of a Letter from Major Adams to Cossim Aly Cawn.*

Dated about the 14th of Sept. 1763.

I Received your letter, and understand the contents. The English having always had in view the articles of the treaty, endeavoured, by pacific measures, to reconcile all differences with you, till the perfidious massacre of Mr. Amyatt compelled them, contrary to their inclination, to declare war against you. You say it was not your intention to murder Mr. Amyatt; why then did not you punish the aggressors with the utmost severity? There are three months elapsed and nothing done. We have now, by the assistance of Providence, brought your affairs to a very low ebb. It is true, you have Mr. Ellis and many other gentlemen in your power; if a hair of their heads is hurt you can have no title to mercy from the English, and you may depend on the utmost fury of their resentment, and that they will pursue you to the utmost extremity of the earth; and should we unfortunately not lay hold of you, the vengeance of the Almighty cannot fail overtaking you, if you perpetrate so horrid an act as the murder of the gentlemen in your custody.

But both threats and exhortations proved ineffectual, and our unhappy countrymen, to the number of about fifty, Company's servants, civil and military, and other gentlemen, and a hundred private men, were sacrificed to a boundless revenge.

Mr. Fullerton, the surgeon of the Patna factory, the only person who escaped this wretched fate, saw Meer Cossim immediately after the execution of this horrid tragedy; and it is from him only we can
have

have a certain account of the state of mind he was in at that time ; a state little different from madness, since he could have a thought of treating with us after having wantonly shed the blood of so many of our countrymen.

This will be seen in the following extract of a letter which Mr. Fullerton wrote to the Board upon the subject.

Extract of Mr. Fullerton's Narrative of the Proceedings at Patna.

September the 19th, I was sent from Mongheer to Patna, and confined alone in the Killa.

N 6. b — October the 5th, Mr. Ellis, with the rest of the gentlemen, were inhumanly butchered by Shumroo, who came that evening to the place with two companies of Seapoys, (he had the day before sent for all the knives and forks of the gentlemen ;) he surrounded the house with his people, and went into a little outer square, and sent for Messrs. Ellis, Hay, and Lushington, and with them came six other gentlemen, who were all terribly mangled and cut to pieces, and their bodies thrown into a well in the square, and it filled up ; then the Seapoys were sent into the large square, and fired on the gentlemen there, and rushing upon them, cut them into pieces, in the most inhuman manner, and they were thrown into another well, which was likewise filled up.

The 7th the Nabob sent for me, and told me to get myself in readiness to go to Calcutta, for that as he had been unlucky in the war, which he asserted with great warmth had not been of his seeking, nor had he been the aggressor, reproaching the English with want of fidelity and breach of treaty ; but he said, he had still hopes of an accommodation. He

asked me what I thought of it? I told him I made no doubt of it. When some of his people then present mentioned the affair of Mr. Amyatt's death, he declared that he had never given any orders of killing Mr. Amyatt; but after receiving advice of Mr. Ellis's having attacked Patna, he had ordered all his servants to take and imprison all the English in the provinces wherever they could find them; he likewise added, that if a treaty was not on foot, he would bring the King, the Morattoes, and the Abdallahs against us, and so ruin our trade, &c. — He had finished his letters, and ordered boats and a guard to conduct me, when, upon the advice of some of his people, he stopped me, and said there was no occasion for me to go; after his sending for me at first, he ordered the Seapoys, in whose charge I was, to go to their quarters, two Moguls and twelve Hircarabs to attend me, but to let me go about the city where I pleased. I then applied for liberty to stay at the Dutch factory, which was granted. I applied to Mindy Aly Cawn for his interest in behalf of the gentlemen in the Chalfetoon, who were seven in number, and were not killed till the 11th of October; but when he was petitioned about them he gave no answer, but still sent orders to Shumroo to cut them off. I likewise applied to Aly Ibrahim Cawn to intercede for them, but he gave him no answer either, though I was present when Ibrahim Cawn petitioned for them.

The 14th, on the approach of our army, Cossim Aly decamped with his troops in great confusion, and marched as far as Fulwary, five coss to the westward of the city. The Hircarabs that were with me, having no orders about me, I gave them some money, which made them pretty easy.

The 15th, after giving money to a Jemadar, that had the guard to the westward of the Dutch factory by the river side, I set out in a small pulvar,
and

and got safe to the boats under the command of Captain Wedderburn, that were lying opposite to the city on the other side of the river; and, at eleven o'clock that night, arrived at the army under the command of Major Adams, lying at Jutly.

O 6.—The guilt of so cruel and detestable a massacre, and the infamy which Meer Cossim has brought upon himself by this last action, will put it in a manner out of the power of history to do justice to the former part of his conduct; since, how strictly soever he may have adhered to his engagements with the English, this will always recur as an argument to vindicate every former injury done him, and the repeated violations of the treaty, on our part, while we were on terms of friendship with him. However, as on the one hand there is no design to become an advocate for his actions, so on the other, the strictest candour will allow some few observations to be made upon the evidences laid before the public; who will doubtless discern many more arguments in the course of this work, by which the President's conduct will be justified, in opposition to that of the other members of the Council towards Meer Cossim, in which no incidents, since past, could possibly have served as a motive: We shall therefore proceed to a short examination of Meer Cossim's behaviour, and that of the party which endeavoured to counteract all his measures, from his first advancement to the Subaship, till the flames of war were kindled. We shall then add some remarks upon the President's own conduct in the difficult part he had to act between both.

Since the Nabob Meer Jaffier could not bear an assistant in his Government upon the footing proposed to him, but rather chose to quit it, it was fortunate that the next right fell upon a man so well qualified,

qualified, as Meer Cossim was, for restoring oeconomy and good order to the distracted affairs of the country. This was the character universally given of him by all the Gentlemen of the select committee, when the President first arrived in Bengal, and the truth of this opinion of him was fully proved by his uniform conduct from the beginning till the war broke out. He discharged the Company's debt, and the heavy arrears of his army, retrenched the expences of his Court, which had before consumed the income of his predecessors; secured his own authority over the country, by abolishing the power of the Zemindars, and introduced such a share of discipline and order into his army, that by their means he secured the frontiers of Bahar, which he had reduced to his obedience, with a small assistance from our detachment at Patna; an advantage which no former Nabob could ever attain. All this could not but afford us satisfaction, as it was evident to common sense that the less need he had of our assistance, the less would be the Company's expences; and the better able they would be to attend to the care of their own possessions, at the same time that we might depend upon him as a sure and useful ally against any common enemy.

And such was his opinion of our strength and the utility of his connections with us, that it was next to a certainty, that whilst we did not encroach upon his rights, or disturb his government, he would never wish to quarrel with us; and in effect so cautious was he of giving occasion for dispute, that no one instance can be produced of his sending a man into any of the lands ceded to us, or molesting us in a single article of our commerce, till the contention which he was drawn into by the usurpation of our Gomastahs, and our new claims with respect to our *private trade*; and even to the break-
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ing out of the war, during the height of our disputes, the *Company's business* in every part went on without the least interruption, excepting one or two aggravated complaints of his mortal enemy, Mr. Ellis, with respect to the salt-petre business.

How different was the conduct of the Gentlemen who had formed themselves into a party against him! From the time of his advancement to the Subaship, scarce a day passed, but occasion was taken, from the most trifling pretences, to trample upon his Government, to seize his officers, and insult him with personal threats and invectives. It is needless to point out particular instances of this; they will be seen in every page of this work, and any one of them, in the Nabob, would have been pronounced a sufficient reason, by those very Gentlemen, for declaring war against him. It is not to be wondered at, if irritated and tired out with these continual attacks, he should grow suspicious of our friendship, which only manifested itself in merely negative professions; or that his resentment should, upon some occasions, have urged him to retaliate the injuries which he received: yet, for a long time, he submitted to all his grievances, contenting himself with remonstrating against them, in the hopes that the Company would some time or other give orders, or the President find means, to restore him to his authority.

The first instance of his using force to repel the violence offered him, was in the attack of the remainder of the party at Mow, which had just before seized, and carried off one of his principal Officers. Such an indignity, offered before his eyes, and in the presence of his whole army, was sufficient to provoke him to some desperate act; and an absolute forbearance must have rendered him contemptible to the last degree in the eyes of his own people; yet, after he had brought away the Sea-
poys

poys and the Gomastahs, he gave a fresh instance of his desire to preserve peace with us, in dismissing them without any further notice than that of a reproof to the Gomastah, for having drawn this unprovoked injury upon him ; although the Nabob's Officer was at this time close prisoner at Patna.

The great pains taken by Meer Cossim, in his letter to Major Adams, and in the conversation which he had afterwards with Mr. Fullerton, to clear himself from the charge of Mr. Amyatt's death, must have struck the reader with the appearance of great inconsistency. In the first, he threatens to put to death all the English that were in his hands ; and at the time that he saw Mr. Fullerton, this horrid deed had been actually committed but the day before ; yet with the recent and complicated guilt of so many lives sacrificed by him to a deliberate and undistinguishing revenge, he could appear unaffected with all that had passed, excepting the death of a single person, which was occasioned, as he said, by the violence of his Officers, who had exceeded his orders. This unhappy affair, even supposing him as guilty as he then appeared to be, had many circumstances to lessen the horror of it, when put in comparison with the last effects of his barbarity.

The suspicion which he had from the first entertained of Mr. Amyatt's deputation, the date of that Gentleman's departure compared with the attack of Patna, and the natural conclusion which he could not help drawing from it, that Mr. Amyatt had advised it, might, in the sudden impulse of his fury, have hurried him to revenge himself in this manner on Mr. Amyatt for an action, which he put to the account of a treachery on Mr. Amyatt's part, designed to be put in execution, as soon as he should be out of the Nabob's reach. Whether this was the case or not, or how

far

far the Nabob was to be justified in ordering him, as he pretended, only to be detained, on whatever provocation, after the safeguard given him, and his faith implicitly pledged for Mr. Amyatt's safety, we shall not now examine. It is plain he considered this as the principal cause, publicly assigned, for our declaring war against him, and every thing which happened afterwards, but as a consequence of the war. Detestable as this distinction will appear, it will show at least that the point, which Meer Cossim had continually in view, and to which he now alluded, was, that he had resolved not to be the aggressor in any of the disputes between us, nor commit any act of hostility, till we had forced him to stand upon his defence, by our first beginning the war.

It will not be disputed that we were the immediate aggressors in the war by the assault of the city of Patna. It may not become us to pronounce how far Mr. Ellis, in taking this ill-fated step, or the Board in authorizing him to do it, were to blame: of this every one will judge from the light in which it may differently appear to him. The President's own opinion was, that Mr. Ellis's intention was, from the beginning, to break with the Nabob, and that the discretionary powers he so earnestly solicited, and so passionately complained about when with-held, were wanted only as a sanction for executing what he had already resolved on. Of this the President repeatedly declared his apprehensions, and for that reason always refused to give his consent to any orders that put it in the power of Mr. Ellis to begin the war when he should think proper; and in effect, no sooner was he in possession of such an authority than he immediately made the use of it which had been dreaded.

It will be argued by many that the war with the Nabob was unavoidable; and therefore that Mr. Ellis

Ellis was in the right to strike the first blow, if by so doing he could secure an advantage; but there are strong reasons to think (and many such appear in the course of these authentic papers) that we were not at that time so near to a rupture, but that it was in our own power to have avoided it, and upon our own terms, had we been earnestly inclined to peace.

Mr. Amyatt's negotiation had been broke off because the Nabob saw that whatever concessions he might make, would be rendered of no effect by the preparations which Mr. Ellis was making to attack the city of Patna, and would appear only as the effects of a consciousness of his own weakness. He therefore dismissed Mr. Amyatt, and, as far as we can learn, with an appearance of friendship. No war was declared by him, but the last determination, upon the subject of our differences, was left to the Governor and Council; and Mr. Hay remained with the Nabob as a pledge for the release of such of his Officers as were prisoners with us.

It is most probable, that had Mr. Ellis kept himself quiet, and left the Nabob any hope of an accommodation, he would have consented to the terms which were demanded of him, and submitted to all the inconveniencies they would have laid him under, until justice could be done him by the Company. There cannot be a stronger proof of this than his letter of the 22d of June, written a few days before Mr. Amyatt's departure, (see A 6. a.) in which he gives up the preliminary articles, and offers to renew the treaty with Mr. Amyatt; and at the same time, as a proof of his sincerity, he released the boats with arms, which had been till then detained.

Possibly the advices from Patna had given him hopes that Mr. Ellis might refrain from hostilities,

till war or peace should be concluded on between him and Mr. Amyatt, or the Board. If such was his expectation, he was soon undeceived by Min-dee Aly Cawn's letter, (before entered A 6.) which informed him that Mr. Ellis was preparing to attack the city. He then ordered the boats with arms again to be stopped, but still consented that Mr. Amyatt should take his leave, and transmit him the final determination of the Board from Calcutta.

They who are fond of searching for refined and deep designs in the most natural actions, may attribute these quick changes in the Nabob's behaviour to a policy, formed to blind Mr. Amyatt and gain time; which however will not appear very probable, if we reflect that the whole of this transaction happened in the short space of two or three days.

In this situation Mr. Amyatt left the Nabob; Mr. Ellis heard of it the evening of the 24th of June, and the same night surprized and took the city.

Let any impartial person now put himself in the place of Meer Cossim, and say whether he could have regarded this assault on the city of Patna, without any declaration of war, in any other light than as an act of treachery, and the strongest argument that all the pacific declarations and proffered treaties, were only artifices to make him a dupe to our designs, and the instrument of his own ruin.

Although very little can be said for the principle of attacking the Nabob first, upon the supposition that it was probable he might attack us, (an argument which would equally justify every act of enmity to those whom we have at any time injured) yet we will suppose it allowable to seize such

an advantage, if the safety of our forces at Patna absolutely depended upon it.

To form a judgment of this necessity, it will be proper to consider the force which we had at that time at Patna, compared with that which Major Adams had under his command during the war.

The former, as has been already mentioned, consisted of 220 Europeans Infantry rank and file, 27 Officers, 57 Artillery, and two battalions and a half, or 2,700 Seapoys; these last, excepting half a battalion, were the oldest, and consequently the best disciplined of any in the service.

Major Adams had, before the battle of Ghereah, about 800 Europeans, including Artillery and Cavalry, and about 2,000 Seapoys, many of which were new recruits, raised in Calcutta and the neighbourhood.

The disproportion between the two bodies will by no means appear so great as that of the services which they were to perform: Major Adams had to encounter the Nabob's whole force, already flushed with success; whereas the detachment at Patna, which was then generally esteemed, and confessed by Mr. Ellis himself, superior to any force that the Nabob could send against it, had nothing to fear but from a part of the Nabob's troops, since it is not likely that he would have left the whole province of Bengal exposed to our army, to go and attack them at Patna; and as a proof of this, it appears from Mr. Amyatt's letters before he left Mongheer, that the Nabob had actually sent forces down to Bengal. Neither, supposing it necessary to attack the city of Patna, would the place have been made more defensible by any reinforcements that the Nabob might have sent into it, since their numbers were already so great, as Mr. Ellis repeatedly mentions in his letters, that any added to them would but have increased

creased their confusion; yet the city was carried without the least difficulty; and the reader need not be told that it was not the want of numbers, but of order, that afterwards occasioned our defeat, and the loss of the detachment.

The Nabob, in many of his letters, complained of a correspondence carried on by Mr. Ellis and other gentlemen of that party, with Shuja Dowla, and of a concerted design to procure the King's nomination of another person to the Subahship. This charge was constantly denied by those gentlemen, nor, however assured the Nabob might be, could he ever produce sufficient proofs to satisfy the Board of the truth of it. What foundation there was for such a suspicion, will be best seen in the following extracts of two letters which were received from Shetabroy and Momtaz o Dowla since the conclusion of the war, when they might think there was no longer any occasion to conceal their services, but rather chose to make a merit of them to both parties now united against Meer Cossim.

P 6.—*Extract of a Letter from Rajah Shetabroy to Major Adams.*

You are acquainted with the attachment I have long shewn to the English gentlemen; accordingly you have seen with your own eyes the favours bestowed on me by Colonel Coote, and you may remember that he introduced me to you at Ghyretty; moreover you must have heard from Colonel Coote and Major Carnac, of my services in treating with the king. Afterwards, when I retired out of the Patna province, on account of the enmity of Meer Mahomed Cossim, I went to the Royal army, where I remained eight months with the King and the Vizir; and then the Mharajah sent me along with Mharajah Beny Bahadre, who
is

is Naib of the Provinces, and has authority over all the affairs of the Empire. As I was always extremely desirous of obtaining the good will of the English gentlemen, I forwarded all the letters which Mr. Ellis and Mr. Lushington sent to the Court, and treated for them in a proper manner; and accordingly it is reported that all the business of the English Chiefs at the Imperial Court is carried on through Shetabroy.

Q 6.—*Extract of a Letter from Momtaz o Dowla to Major Carnac.*

Meer Cossim, notwithstanding the smallness of his charge and the short duration of his Government, is yet greatly in debt to the Royal Sircar. His Majesty has long been displeased with him. You several times represented to the Royal Presence the behaviour of Meer Cossim, and your earnest desire, nor was it unadviseable or disapproved; and his Majesty's inclinations and endeavours are now likewise entirely suitable.

R 6.—It is not to be doubted that Meer Cossim had, in his disposition, the seeds of that cruelty and revenge which burst out with such vehemence, when his moderation and forbearance could no longer serve him in any stead.

To his own subjects he had behaved with great lenity, of which some instances have been produced. He had sense enough to know that the friendship of the English would be his greatest security, and to dread their power if ever they should become his enemies; and as he knew that some of the members of the Council were dissatisfied with his appointment, it made him use the greater caution to avoid any disputes with them, or to give them occasion from thence to tax him with disaffection

fection to the English, or a distrust of our faith. In the first period of his Government, while he saw himself in no great danger of coming to a rupture with us, he steadily adhered to this principle; but when the disputes became more serious, and seemed to portend a breach between us, sensible of the increased power of his enemies, and disappointed of the support he had been made to expect from the Company, he found himself necessitated to act a different part; and, at the same time that he strove to evade the impending storm, to provide against the effects of it.—This will be easily seen in the change of his behaviour after the summoning of the General Council; and to this cause may be ascribed the too great attention which, in the decline of his administration, he paid to the complaints of his Officers, and his connivance at their oppressions, which, whilst his complaints against our own agents yet remained unredressed, he could not punish without perhaps exposing his own weakness, and forfeiting the attachment of the most useful of his subjects.

Thus far his conduct may bear the severest examination; but how dreadful the reverse of his character, when the war broke out, and his temper, no longer under restraint, gave a loose to all his passions and to the spirit of revenge so common to his countrymen, and so deeply rooted by their religion and education! The hoarded resentment of all the injuries, which he had sustained in a continued exertion of patience during the three years of his Government, now aggravated by his natural timidity, and the prospect of an almost inevitable ruin before his eyes, from this time took intire possession of his mind, and drove from thence every principle of humanity, till it had glutted itself with the blood of every person within his reach, who had either contributed to his misfortunes, or even by real or
fancied

fancied connections with his enemies, became the objects of his revenge.

Such was the melancholy end of the measures which a violent party pursued, with immoveable perseverance, from the beginning of Meer Cossim's government, although no pains had been spared to persuade them of the necessity of the measures which had been taken, and to induce them to a temper less liable to produce those effects, which since have fallen with such severity upon us all!

The President has been censured by his enemies for espousing too partially the cause of the Nabob, and his friends have blamed him as much for exercising too great a lenity to the faction which opposed him. It may not be improper to shew the principles on which he guided himself towards both.

The Nabob was scarcely advanced to the Subahship when the party formed itself against him; and as they made no secret of their sentiments, but rather industriously published them, he had notice of it almost as soon as they were formed, and of the measures which were taken to support that party, and to effect his ruin. He was told that Colonel Coote, Major Carnac, Mr. Amyatt, and Mr. Ellis, had written to the Company against him, that they had sworn together to restore Jaffer Aly Cawn, and that a communication was opened with England, and persons sent thither to forward the same design. It was therefore the President's business to endeavour by every means to convince him that their friendship would continue unchanged, and that it was the President's resolution to support him in all his just rights; and this plan so far succeeded, as to gain and preserve an influence over him, as long as he saw that the President had it in his power to befriend him, and he

placed intire confidence in the President's attachment to him. In supporting him the President knew he supported the establishment, with which the interests of the Company were so connected, that they could not be separated without danger of involving both in ruin : and he knew also that the Nabob could never raise his power to an equality with ours, nor shake off his dependency on us, without running a risque too disproportionate to the advantages which he might gain by it : nor could he ever propose to himself any advantages by breaking with us, so long as we continued to act within the terms of our treaty, and to lend him the assistance of our forces in his just and necessary concerns. But even allowing the probability of such a design, nothing could be so unjust or absurd, as to deny him the use of the authority in which we had sworn to maintain him, and without which the security of the country must have been continually exposed to danger ; and that for no other reason but because it was possible, that in some period of time, he might make an ill use of his power, and employ it against us.

The establishing him therefore in the full authority over his own people, and allowing him the just rights of his Government, was the sure means of making him an useful ally, instead of a burden to us ; and by shewing a steady zeal and attachment to his interests, we should insure the same attachment in him to ours, and be certain to reap the fruits of his fidelity.

This rule the President laid down for his own conduct, and as far as it consisted with the interests of the Company, to which it was subservient, he invariably pursued it, excepting where the violence of faction forced him into measures which he could not prevent ; and even then he kept the same principle in view, and resumed it where he could
with

with safety to the cause which he was defending. And it must ever give him a conscious satisfaction to reflect, that had the rest of the gentlemen at the head of our affairs conducted themselves by his example, we should at this time enjoy the acquisitions derived to us from Meer Cossim's advancement to the Subahship, improved by all the benefits that a settled tranquillity, and a flourishing commerce could add to them; and we should have every reason to be satisfied with our friendship and connections with a man, whom we now regard as a vagabond, a murderer, and the worst of tyrants, rendered such by the despair to which our injustice has driven him.

It was a great object to keep the Nabob firm to his engagements, and the President was no less solicitous to introduce a good understanding among ourselves. It is true he neither attempted this by unbecoming solicitations, nor by consulting the personal interests of those whom he wished to see of the same opinion with himself; but resting on the integrity of his own heart, he withstood every attack on the establishment which he had been an instrument in raising, and bore every assault upon his own character with temper and forbearance; knowing that to oppose their violence with equal violence, would but accelerate the ruin of the Company's affairs, which it was his aim to prevent. And perhaps nature had as much share in this his disposition as policy; for the truth is, an early gentleness and humanity discovered themselves in his temper, and disinclined him ever from acts of severity; and experience of men and business had habituated him to look upon the errors and passions of others with the indulgence which he would expect to his own; and, upon this occasion, he yielded the more readily to this prevailing inclination, because he knew that nothing tended so surely to

to

to the destruction of a state, even in the most flourishing circumstances, as divisions among those who rule it; and he hoped that whilst he kept such a guard upon his own conduct, as to obviate every pretence of censure against himself, and avoided all disagreeable and personal altercations, the flame of contention would go out of itself for want of fuel to keep it alive.

Such were his hopes; but he knew not the spirits that he had to deal with, and he found too late, that the gentlest usage lost all its effects with prejudices so deeply rooted, and with minds compelled, by mutual ties, to persevere in the cause in which they were once engaged.

If it be asked what precautions are necessary to prevent fresh troubles in these provinces, and a renewal of our disputes with the Country Government, the answer is easy; That either the regulations agreed on with Meer Cossim must be adopted, or an entire stop must be put to the innovations which have taken place since the capture of Calcutta, and the private trade be restrained within its ancient bounds.

The reason is plain: Great advantages accrued from these articles of trade, both to the country merchants who used to carry it on, and to the Government by the customs drawn from it. Both these are now cut off, and the whole, in a manner, engrossed by the English, who say they will pay no customs; and to support this usurpation, our Agents and Gomastahs are armed with an authority independent of the Officers of the Government.

If we restrain the power of our Agents and Gomastahs, and acquiesce in the Nabob's Officers exercising their proper authority in deciding disputes, where such dependents of ours are concerned, they will, for the most part, abuse their authority, and totally obstruct our trade, impelled not only by the
jealousy

jealousy with which they regard this innovation of ours, and by their own interests, but by the complaints of the country merchants, who find themselves excluded, and the oppressions to which this trade is more peculiarly liable, when under no controul. It is true, that in this case, as in every other, our dependents have a right to appeal to the Presidency; but what is that in fact but an appeal to the point of the sword, which it will always be doubtful whether we can lawfully use, when the complaints are merely private, and the distance of place, and the difficulty of producing proof, will put it out of our power to do any justice, or if any, it must be very tedious, expensive and uncertain.

The Nabob's right to this authority in his own Government, cannot in justice be disputed, and the less so, because our own jurisdiction does not extend thither, nor have we either judges to determine disputes in those distant parts, or laws to determine them by. Yet this right of the Country Government is superseded, and must be totally annihilated, if it be resolved that the privileges of our private trade should extend so far. And it may not be improper to remark here, that it was upon this reasoning the President agreed in the consultation of the first of March, that our Agents and Gomastahs *should not* be subject to the actual controul of the Country Government, after having assured the Nabob, in the regulations, that they *should*; for the Council having resolved that they would insist on a free trade in all articles and to all places, there was no way of preserving it but by superseding the right of the Nabob's Government. The violence with which the Nabob's Officers exercised their authority the instant it was put into their hands by the Nabob, made the President the less attentive to the natural rights of justice in this case, where he
saw

saw plainly that on either side there would be great oppressions ; and he less dreaded the effects of any complaints which the Nabob might make, than the dangerous consequences which they would produce if we ourselves were the sufferers.

The present Nabob, Meer Jaffier, is no less clamorous upon these subjects than Meer Cossim was ; and it is very plain, that upon the present system no friendship can be preserved with any Nabob. The two Governments clash too frequently to stand upon a friendly footing ; and therefore, if it is not thought right to establish the regulations and restrictions before mentioned, it is the highest degree of absurdity to pledge the national faith to a treaty which it is not possible should subsist, and to bind ourselves to support the Nabob in the authority over his country, when we deny him the exercise of that authority for the protection of his own subjects, at the same time too that we confessedly want the power of protecting them ourselves.

It has been asserted by several members of the Board, in their minutes before entered, that the oppressions of the Gomastahs, so frequently complained of, had no existence. As an incontestible proof that such oppressions did, and actually do exist, it may not be amiss to subjoin the following extracts of two letters which have been received since the troubles, upon this very subject ; and a copy of a paper of regulations which were proposed by the Nabob, and sent to the Board by Major Adams.

S 6. ——— *Extract of a Letter from Mr. George Gray, Resident at Maulda, to the Governor.*

Dated the 7th of January 1764, at Purnea.

SINCE my arrival here, I have had an opportunity of seeing the villainous practice used by the Calcutta Gomastahs, in carrying on their business. The Government have certainly too much reason to complain of their want of influence in their country, which is torn to pieces by a set of rascals, who in Calcutta walk about with a clout, but when they are sent out on Gomastahships, lord it over the country, imprisoning the ryots and merchants, and writing and talking in the most insolent domineering manner to the Fouzedars and Officers; so that as they tell me, it is not the *real English*, but the *English Gomastahs*, who harrahs the country. I shall some day give you a more particular account of them.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Senior, Chief of Cossimbuzar.

Dated the 23d of March 1764.

“ IT would amaze you, the number of complaints that daily come before me, of the extravagances committed by our Agents and Gomastahs all over the country. But, by punishing some of the immediate servants of the factory, and dismissing others, I hope in time to bring thing on a proper footing.”

S 6. a ——— *Extract from a Paper of Representations, delivered by the Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn to Major Adams, to be laid before the Board.*

Article 1st. As there are factories of the English Company at Cossimbuzar, Dacca, Patna, and other places, and Chiefs and Counsellors are there, whatever dustucks there may be for trade, let them be established under the seal of the English Company, and let them not interfere nor grant recommendations in the affairs of the revenues and the country, as it is a means of weakening the authority of my Officers.

Article 2d. Seapoys and Hircarahs, in the name of the English Company, go into the country and oppress the ryots. If they are sent into the country for the Company's business, let them have with them a certificate, under the seal of the English Counsellors; and if they go into the country without a certificate and make a disturbance, let them be punished.

Article 3d. Let not the English Gomastahs take possession of, and set up their authority in any of the Zemindaries or * Milky Lands, nor receive money for protection, nor hold any farms; and whoever has taken possession of any lands, let him relinquish them, and let not protection be granted to the dependents of the Sircar.

Article 4th. Let there be dustucks under the Company's seal, with boats loaded with silver and goods, and let them pass and repass, giving copies to the Chokeydar, according to custom.

Article 7th. With regard to the Gomastahs of the English Company and Counsellors, let them not, for their own affairs and concerns, send Seapoys

* Lands granted by the King, rent free, or for a trifling consideration.

upon the ryots, nor oppress them, nor force them to purchase their goods; and if any dispute should arise, let them make it known to the Officer of the Sircar, and have it settled by him.

Many other proofs, if necessary, might be produced, of disturbances having been committed by our Gomastahs in all parts of the country. The most particular account is that, transmitted by Sergeant Brego, and already inserted, (M 3.) To these quotations it will not be improper to add another, from a letter received from Mr. Cartier long before the troubles, not only for the sake of the proof implied in it, of the countenance which those oppressions met with from us, but as an argument of the impossibility of carrying on the trade, so much contested for, without such oppressions.

S 6. b—*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Cartier, Chief of Dacca.*

Dated the 8th of November 1761.

A Freedom of trade is too desirable not to be wished for, but difficult to be established. While the Country Government are interested to assist those that pay a duty on importation, they will secretly use methods to prevent the sale of our goods, if left at their full liberty; or was I to undertake to sell below the common run of the market, the picars and merchants would be intimidated from trading with me, unless permitted to do so; or is it probable they would, when it is so opposite to the interest of the people in the Government? So that an undue and ruinous influence must be exerted on one side, and nothing left to oppose it.

As soon as the war with Meer Cossim was ended, and the Nabob Meer Jaffier was in full possession

sion of his Government, the President thought himself at liberty to leave the country, which he had before declared his resolution of doing, when there should be no longer any public call upon him for his stay. He accordingly acquainted the Board with his intention in the following letter.

T 6.—*To the Gentlemen of Council at Fort William.*

Fort William 19th December 1763.

GENTLEMEN,

THE unexpected and unfortunate events with which the war with the Nabob began, and which spread an alarm, that in some measure affected the settlement itself, occasioned my altering my intention of going to Europe last September; but our army being now masters of the whole province, and hostilities at an end, I think my employers cannot disapprove of my prosecuting that intention this season; and that my friends and family might blame me if I remained longer without urgent reasons, in a climate which has been found to affect me so frequently with dangerous disorders. It is my intention therefore to take my leave of you the beginning of next month, and to proceed with Commodore Tinker to Madras, where I shall embark immediately in his Majesty's ship Panther for England.

I think it my duty at the same time to acquaint you with what observations occur to me on the present state of the country. Meer Jaffier being again in possession of the Government, it is my wish he should be supported in it as long as he lives. — This was also my wish *before*, but I found it impossible; and *now* again, if some timely precautions

cautions are not taken, I am apprehensive that you may soon find yourselves under the same difficulties. — The Nabob's incapacity for business is universally acknowledged; he should endeavour to make up for that deficiency, by appointing men of experience and character to manage the different branches; but he seems rather inclined to throw himself into the hands of those who flatter his weakness and take advantage of it. We are assured that Nuncoomar has at this time the entire disposal of the Nabob's will, and of all the affairs of the provinces; of which the consequence will be, that we shall be continually amused and perplexed with his arts and intrigues. We shall be told of the schemes of the King, and the Morattas, and all the Chiefs of the empire, and what weight and interest he has with them; we shall be obliged to keep a large army constantly in the field, to guard the province against designs which never existed; by which our military expences will absorb the most part of our revenues, and the Nabob will be led into an extravagant dissipation of his money to foreign powers to indulge the * pride of his Ministers, and at length, being unable to fulfil his engagements and pay his own troops, will fall again to ruin.

* There is before the Board a striking instance of Nuncoomar's intriguing disposition. — The very first letters, which came from the Vizir and his principal Officers, are filled with nothing but the praises of Nuncoomar. — His titles and seals are received before the Nabob's own; and before any assurances are given the Nabob that he will have the Sunnuds for the provinces, he is told that he must give Nuncoomar such and such particular employments, the most honourable and valuable belonging to the Government; and which the Nabob at his departure from Calcutta had promised to Roy-doulah.

This danger should be provided against as soon as an opportunity offers of advising with the Nabob, in such a manner as not to excite his jealousy or fear; and the same opportunity should also be taken of settling the succession, that there may be no confusion in case of his demise, as from his advanced age such an event may always be apprehended. Sensible as I am of the necessity of guarding against these dangers, it is with reluctance I mention them, lest it should be suggested that I would promote any measures disagreeable to the Nabob; but as my duty to the Company has always had more weight with me than any other consideration, so it is that only which on this occasion dictates to me.

By some of the Nabob's letters you have seen already with how much uneasiness he expresses himself, upon the least complaint of our subordinate factories, Agents, or Gomastahs, interfering with his Officers in any part of the country. — Our influence is such that it will for the most part over-rule the Nabob's, so that any dependent of ours may abuse that influence with impunity, if the greatest care is not taken; and on all such occasions, the complaints that are made are attended with invidious exaggerations, in order to excite as much as possible the jealousy of the Government. In short, our authority has extended itself so very near the Nabob's, that they are frequently clashing; and without a very steady and moderate conduct on both sides, they cannot subsist upon their present footing, nor a friendship be maintained with this Nabob or any other. — To put an end to this precarious and fluctuating state, it is likely the Company will resolve on an entire change of system, and either draw their own connections with the Country Government into narrower limits, and reduce the
private

private trade to the footing it was on before the capture of Calcutta, or else extend them further, and render the Country Government fully and confessedly dependent on theirs.—But it will require your greatest care, Gentlemen, to keep the scale even, till the orders of the Company can arrive, and to prevent a repetition of these tragical events of which we have been lately the unhappy Witnesses.

I am, &c.

In answer to this, the following address was sent by the Board, dated the same day.

T 6. a.— S I R,

The letter, which you laid before us at the Board this morning, having met with our serious consideration, we beg leave to offer you our sentiments thereon.

Though the war against Cossim Aly Cawn is near brought to a conclusion, and we have a prospect of the country being shortly restored to its former tranquillity, yet it will be a work of great difficulty to establish measures for the rendering that tranquillity perfect and secure; and many resolutions will be found necessary to be taken, to prevent, if possible, the country and the Company's trade from being again exposed to the hazard and desolation of war; these which you have yourself instanced are such as tend very essentially to this purpose, and will require the greatest steadiness and attention to bring them to an happy issue. From a conviction therefore, Sir, of the material service you can be of in forwarding so salutary a work, and wherein the well-being of the Company

I so immediately concerned, we cannot but unanimously join in requesting that you will postpone your intention of returning to Europe this season, and that you will continue in the presidency of this settlement, until we shall have the honour to receive the Company's orders in regard to the future management of their affairs in these provinces.

We are, with much esteem,

S I R,

Your most obedient

Humble servants,

WILLIAM BILLERS,
JOHN CARNAC,
WARREN HASTINGS,
RANDOLPH MARRIOTT,
HUGH WATTS,
A. W. SENIOR,
JOHN BURDETT.

Upon this representation of the Council, the President could not refuse to defer his departure, and accordingly replied to their letter in the following terms.

T 6. b.—— *To the Gentlemen of the Council of Fort William.*

Fort William, 22d December 1763.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received the honour of your letter of the 19th, in which you are pleased to express our opinion, that my remaining in the Government

ment at this time is essential to the Company's service.

As I think it my duty to prefer that consideration before all others, I have, in consequence of your representation, determined to stay till next season. I shall hope from your assistance such relief, as my uncertain state of health may require; and am happy in the conviction that we shall carry on all our business with perfect unanimity.

I am,

Gentlemen, &c.

F I N I S



Kella, Castle, Citadel.

Kiftbundee, a contract for the acquittance of a debt by stated payments.

Kellaar, Khaleat, whatever superiors give to inferiors, robes, arms, horses.—Sirrapah, a complete dress; Sirr, the head; Pah, the foot.

Khotbah, or Cutba, Cootba, is the harangue read by the Priests (Mullahs) on Fridays in the Mosques, in which the Prince who then governs is prayed for.

L.

Lack of rupees, about twelve thousand five hundred pound.

M.

Maund, a gross weight between 70 and 80 pounds.

Moonthe, or Moonthee, a Persian secretary.

Muahulcha, or Muckulka, an obligation with a penalty annexed.

Munsub, a dignity.

Morattas, warriors, horsemen, attended each with two men on foot.

Musnid, a particular place in the Divan—the highest seat

Mosque, a Moorish church.

Muttasuddy, or Muttasuddie, King's officer, the Nabob's accountant.

N.

Nabob, a Governor of a Province, the King's Vicegerent.

Naib, a Deputy.

Nazim, Governor of a Province under the Nabob or Nawob.

Nezaranna Subadarree, the fees of the Nazim.

Naick, officer.

O.

Omrahs, Privy-Councillors, men of the first rank in the empire, they are under the Vizier, but are mostly concerned in all the revolutions of the state.

P.

Peons, infantry, servants.

Perwannah, an order or command, sometimes a grant.

Pykars, or Pykes, or Picars, officers relative to the service of the lands.

Phousdar, a renter.

Peshcush, a present from an inferior to a superior.

Pergunna,

Pergunna, a district containing any number of *Mouzas*, or parishes, the rents of which are collected at one place called a *Cutcherry*.

R.

Rewâna, or **Ruanna**, statement, adjustment or rule.

Raja, the highest title of the Gentoo Princes.

Ryots, tenants, weavers, who sell to the *Picars*, who again supply the merchants.

Rahdars, who have the charge of the highways.

S.

Seapoys, Indian soldiers, who are entertained and disciplined by the Europeans.

Sicca rupees, coin of the purest gold.

Shah, King, **Shahzada** royally born, King's eldest son.

Subadar, Lord Lieutenant of a Province.

Shahbunder, Chief of the port, Custom-house officer.

Sunnud, charter, grant, patent.

Shroff, a money-changer, or banker.

Souba, Viceroy of one of the two great Provinces.

T.

Telingas, Seapoys.

Tuncaws, assignments upon lands.

Tolingas, the people who assist the **Shahbunder**.

Tomtom, a drum.

Taalucdar, next in office to a **Jemmadar**.

Toffals, salt-pans.

V.

Vackeel, agent, or resident factor.

W.

Wadadar, Collector of the revenues.

Y.

Year. The year is divided into two seasons, the one called *Kherief*. The other called *Rebbee*.

Which comprehends

Which contains

Affim	September	}	{	Cheit	March
Cartie	October			Byfaac	April
Aghan	November			Jeet	May
Poos	December			Affar	June
Maug	January			Sawun	July
Phagun	February			Bhadun	August.

Z.

Zemin, land, **Zemindars**, landholders——Princes.

Zunana, the tent of the women.



AN EXPLANATION of most of the *Persian* and
Moorish Terms in the preceding Volumes.

A.

Arzee, or Arzdafht, a petition.

Affama, or Affamees, dealers in different branches of trade.

Annaes, a coin.

Aumaen, an officer of the Government.

Aurungs, or Arungs, works, manufactories.

Aumils, officers of the Government.

B.

Bang, an intoxicating juice of a vegetable.

Batta, an extraordinary allowance to the army when abroad in the field, or in any country garrison where provisions are scarce.

Betel, a leaf not unlike that of a kidney-bean, it grows on a vine exactly in the same manner, and is in great use, from the Prince to the beggar. They constantly chew it, mixed with chinam and betel-nut; for the betel-leaf and the betel-nut are from different plants. The farmers of Madras pay the Company from six to seven thousand pounds a year for the exclusive privilege of vending it.

Banyan, India merchant.

Buxshbunder, treasurer of the customs to the Mogul.

Burcundassees, soldiers.

Bazar, market.

C.

Caouns, a measure of quantity

Chunam, or Chinam, lime.

Chokey, or Chokiers, guards at the stairs or landing places.

Cowry, fish shells.

Cootba, or Cutba, proclamation, acknowledgment of the King's title.

Coffrees, negroes brought to India from the Cape.

Chucra, the jurisdiction of a Phouddar, who receives the rents from the Zemindars.

Cutwauls, magistrates who punish for inferior crimes.

Coss, or Corse, a measure from two miles to two miles and a half.

Cröre

Crore, of Rupees, an hundred lack.

Coffid, a foot-messenger, or post.

Circar, or **Sircar**, Government, number of towns under one head or governor.

D.

Duftuck, an order.

Dustore, customs.

Daroga, mayor.

Dadney, pitch.

Dewan, King's treasurer.

Dewanny, superintendancy over the royal revenues.

Darbar, court or council, and sometimes a levee only.

Dauks, messengers, posts, advanced parties.

Dilolls, mechanics, weavers.

F

Fougedar, or **Fouzdar**, a military officer.

Firmaun, or **Phirmaund**, a patent or paper signed by the Mogul ; a royal mandate or grant.

G.

Gentoos, or **Zentoos**, Indians, natives of Indostan, idolaters.

Gomastah, factor or agent.

Gunge, grain-market.

Gauts, wharfs.

Golahs, warehouses to keep grain.

Guzerburns, they who collect duties on the high-roads.

Gurris, sixtieth part of a day.

H.

Hackeries, carts or coaches drawn by oxen.

Havildar, military officer.

Hircarabs, spies.

Husbulhookum, a patent signed by the Vizier.

Hauts, markets.

J.

Jemmidar, **Jematdar**, the commander of a troop.

Jageer, or **Jaghire**, a territory or domain granted for a particular use, either to maintain a number of troops, or keep a fort in repair.

Jagheerdar, the holder of a fief from the Crown, for which the possessor pays no rents, but is obliged by his tenure, to do personal service to the King when called on.

K

Kelladar, or **Killedar**, a Governor of a fort, who must not stir out of his fort, unless by order.

Kella,